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THE C MINT OF CARAUSIUS AND ALLECTUS

C.D. LLOYD

Introduction

THE first official mint of the Roman Empire in Britain was established in London by the usurper Carausius, probably near to the beginning of his reign in 286. London was retained as a mint under the Central Empire. During the period of the so-called 'British Empire', from c. 286 to 296, production of coin was shared with another British mint which marked its coins with a C or G. The identity of this mint is uncertain and it is the aim of this paper to examine the evidence of site finds and hoards in order to assess regional trends in the distribution of billon coins from London and the C (or G) mint.

The mints and coinage of Carausius and Allectus

The usurpation of Carausius and Allectus represents a period of particular interest for the study of Roman Britain. The C mint problem, concerning as it does an establishment of clear economic importance, is of significance in the context of Romano-British archaeology as a whole. A brief review of the coinage of the usurpers is here given, followed by an examination of the distribution of the coin finds themselves.

The coins which are widely considered to be the earliest products of Carausius bore no mint marks;¹ several authors have expressed the opinion that these issues may be products of the London mint.² The mint of London, signing its coins with an L, struck gold *aurei* and billon radiates throughout the British usurpation; during most of the period it was the predominant producer of coin. During the reign of Carausius a sizeable proportion of coins were marked with the letters RSR.³ In particular, most examples of a silver denomination, often termed *denarii* (though with no evidence to support this), bear this signature.

The third distinctive group of coins with a British origin are those issues marked with a C or G.⁴ The mint also used the signatures CL and CC (or GL and a combination of C and G). The C mint, as it is usually called, struck billon radiates throughout the British usurpation. The mint has varying been attributed to: Colchester (Colonia Camulodunum),⁵ Bitterne

Acknowledgements: Much of the material on which this analysis is based was obtained only through the kind assistance of various individuals. In particular, I wish to thank Dr Richard Reece for the loan of site lists and for helpful comments on the project. The analysis would have been much more limited in scope were it not for several museum curators to whom I am grateful, namely: Edward Besly, National Museums and Galleries of Wales; Dr Roger Bland, British Museum; Dr John Davies, Norwich Castle Museum; Rodney Hudson; Dr Cathy King, Ashmolean Museum; Karen Wardley and Duncan Brown, God's House Tower Museum of Archaeology, Southampton; Martin Winter, Colchester Museum.

¹ C.E. King, 'The unmarked coins of Carausius', *BNJ* 54 (1984), 1-10, questions this belief and discusses the possibility, on stylistic grounds, that some of the unmarked and marked issues were contemporary.

² P.J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus: The British Usurpers* (London, 1994); C.E. King, (as in note 1), identifies stylistic similarities between unmarked issues and coins from both London and the C mint, suggesting that unmarked coins were struck at both mints.

³ G. de la Bedoyere, 'Carausius unveiled', *Current Archaeology* 153 (1997), 358, suggests *Redeunt Saturnia Regna* for RSR - 'The Gold Age (= Saturnian Kingdoms/ages) returns' from Virgil's *Eclogues* iv, 6-7.

⁴ It has been argued that the mint letter may be a C or a G as the form is indistinct, see A. Burnett, 'The coinage of Allectus: Chronology and interpretation', *BNJ* 54 (1984), 21-41; P.J. Casey, (as in note 2), 84, argues that Cs are distinct on the coins of the usurpers and are clearly not Gs; examination of the coins themselves does not substantiate this claim.

⁵ M.R. Hull, *Roman Colchester*, Society of Antiquaries Research Report 20 (Oxford 1958), pp. 275-276.

(? Clausentum),⁶ Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum), Cirencester (Corinium), Gloucester (Glevum)⁷ and Lincoln (Colonia Lindum). Currently there is most support for the Colchester⁸ and Gloucester⁹ attributions. In addition to the British mints Carausius also struck coin at a location in northern France. Rouen (Rotomagus) is now generally accepted as the location of this mint.

During the reign of Allectus the London and C mints struck two distinct billon issues. The first was a radiate of similar size and weight to those struck at the end of the reign of Carausius (these coins have been termed *aureliani*). The second was smaller and lighter¹⁰ and carries the letter Q in conjunction with the mint letter, and the reverse of the coins always bear a galley. Coins in this group have been termed *quinarii* but usage of the term in this context is misleading and here the coins are referred to as Q radiates instead. There is some disagreement over the nature of these coins, which have been varying interpreted as reduced radiates or as a separate denomination.¹¹ The analysis examines the radiate and Q radiate individually.

Spatial distribution of mint products

Hoards containing coins of Carausius have been used to support claims for the C mint. For instance, the Carausian hoard from Linchmere in West Sussex (7% C mint) may be compared with that from Colchester (46.9% C mint; the hoard also contains Allectan radiates and Q radiates) and seen as evidence for an eastern location for the C mint. Such an observation would have to be questioned for two reasons: *i*, these are two cases in isolation, *ii*, it ignores the dates of composition and deposition of the hoards.

With respect to the first point this analysis indicates little evidence for an eastern concentration of C mint coins when a background of other hoards and site finds is considered. The cumulative evidence points to an increase in production of coin relative to the London mint through the reigns of both Carausius and Allectus. It is apparent from the hoards utilised in this analysis that hoards with many unmarked radiates of Carausius and no coins of Allectus¹² tend to contain large proportions of coins from the London mint. In contrast 'later' hoards generally contain more C mint coins. Thus, the second point, chronology, is important in the context of the C mint question.

The coinage of Carausius has been divided into several issue periods by Carson¹³ but, in the context of this paper, these divisions are largely ignored for the present purpose. The analysis

⁶ H. Mattingly, 'Carausius: His mints and money system', *Antiquity* 19 (1945), 122–124, felt that the evidence tilted in favour of Bitterne. The Roman coins in God's House Tower Museum of Archaeology, Southampton, have been catalogued by the author. Coins of Carausius and Allectus in the collection that were found in Bitterne are few in number and those with a possible Bitterne provenance do not support the hypothesis of the C mint having been at Bitterne, assuming that Bitterne is the location of Clausentum. N. Shiel, *The Episode of Carausius and Allectus: the literary and numismatic evidence*, BAR British Series 40 (Oxford, 1977), p. 175, argues that the primary defences at Bitterne are largely fourth-century in date, which make Bitterne an unlikely candidate. Casey, (as in note 2), 104, points out that more recent work favours a date in the late third century.

⁷ A. Burnett (as in note 3).

⁸ J.A. Davies and Nina Crummy, 'The coins of Carausius and Allectus', in *The coins from excavations in Colchester 1971–9*, edited by Nina Crummy, Colchester Arch. Rep. IV (Colchester, 1987); P.J. Casey, (as in note 2), 84–85. In contrast A. Burnett (as in note 3), 26, argues that the presence

of the letters CL on some C mint coins makes Colchester an unlikely candidate as this would represent an unusual abbreviation for Camulodunum. In normal practice the L would indicate either the second letter or second syllable of the mint name.

⁹ R. Reece, review of P.J. Casey, (as in note 2), *Britannia* 27 (1996), 474–475.

¹⁰ Radiates of Allectus generally weigh around 4.5 grams compared to about 3 grams for the Q radiate.

¹¹ A. Burnett (as in note 3), 27, has written of the Q radiate and radiate that 'The weight relationship of two thirds to one' suggests 'that the "quinarii" ... Were intended to be (in some sense) half antoniniani, since it was normal in the third century for half pieces to weigh two thirds of their whole'.

¹² This group includes the hoards from Croydon (no. 69 in the lists presented here), Linchmere (no. 76) and Little Orme's Head (no. 77), among others.

¹³ R.A.G. Carson, 'The sequence marks on the coinage of Carausius and Allectus', in *Mints, Dies and Currency: Essays dedicated to the memory of Albert Baldwin*, edited by R.A.G. Carson (London, 1971), pp. 57–65.

includes all Carausian radiates of the London and C mints as one group. However, as the coinage of Allectus is examined separately, an indication of change through time will be made clear.

The distribution of the products of the London and C mints has been examined through the mapping of mint product proportions. The analysis is divided into three sections: radiates of Carausius, radiates of Allectus and Q radiates of Allectus. The distribution of each is assessed in turn.

Before progressing to the analysis it is important to state that, owing to the lack of knowledge on the process of coin supply, it may be difficult to interpret patterns of distribution. David Walker was able to identify, for instance, groups of issues of *asses* of Hadrian, struck at Rome, that were apparently sent almost exclusively to Britain.¹⁴ It is, of course, possible that a similar strategy operated for the supply of coin during the usurpation. Thus, the regions supplied by London and the C mint may have overlapped extensively. If this was the case then one may not expect a clear relationship between mint product and location. The evidence does, however, allow for some optimism in terms of regional patterns. With this point in mind the evidence collected will be discussed.

Figure 1, site finds of Carausius radiates, presents a picture of confusion. C mint proportions apparently vary erratically across Britain. The sample is somewhat biased towards particular regions.¹⁵ No strong trends are apparent with the exception of a small group of London dominant site find groups in central southern Britain.

Hoards are a form of evidence distinct from site finds and must therefore be treated separately. Figure 2, hoards of Carausius, illustrates rather more evidence for regional trends than do site finds. Proportions of C mint issues are consistently lower in the south-east, but around the Severn C mint levels are generally higher. Although the patterns are far from clear this at least supports the view that the C mint is unlikely to have been located in Colchester.

Site finds of the radiates of Allectus are more illustrative of apparent regional patterning than their Carausian counterparts. In Figure 3, site finds of Allectus radiates, C mint coins clearly predominate in the region around Gloucester, and C mint proportions are lower in the east of Britain. Figure 4, a plot of C mint proportions against distance from Gloucester, serves to confirm the regional grouping showing a relatively 'rapid' decline in C mint proportions with distance from Gloucester. Up to 150 km from Gloucester the decline in C mint coins with distance from Gloucester is clear. Beyond 150 km the pattern is visually erratic. Clearly, one would not expect a distinct relationship between C mint proportions and distance from any location as coins were not supplied in such a straightforward manner and coins are not static, they may circulate with little restriction. The sites with over 25% C mint products that are greater than 150 km from Gloucester are primarily, though not exclusively, located near to the east coast of Britain. The nine sites that constitute this group are (from north to south): Carrawburgh, South Shields, Hayton, Lincoln, Caistor St Edmund, Colchester, Richborough, Canterbury and Chichester. There is, perhaps, a suggestion that sites in the north, located at a large distance from London and the main candidates for the C mint, tend to have the most mixed proportions of London and C mint coins.¹⁶ Though the patterning is not distinct the evidence collected still tends towards a western location for the

¹⁴ D. Walker, 'The Roman Coins', in *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, Volume 2, the finds from the sacred spring*, edited by B. Cunliffe, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 16 (Oxford, 1988), pp. 292–293.

¹⁵ This bias appears to be a function of the smaller number of coins of the usurpers in other regions, rather than being due to the sampling strategy. Samples were sought across England and Wales but much more material was found for some regions than others; this may be due to variable rates of publication or a

genuine feature of the archaeological record. Three coins is the minimum accepted for each issue type, meaning that many sites in other areas did not qualify for the analysis.

¹⁶ The location of many of the sites in this group may indicate a distinction between coastal and inland sites with respect to their proportions of C mint coins. It may be that the circulation pool inland was subject to less variation than that for regions near to waterways. However, only examination of more data would clarify this point.

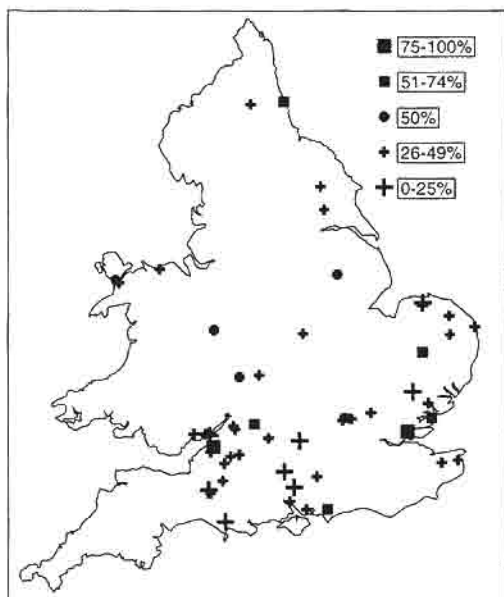


Fig. 1. Carausius site finds, C mint percentages.

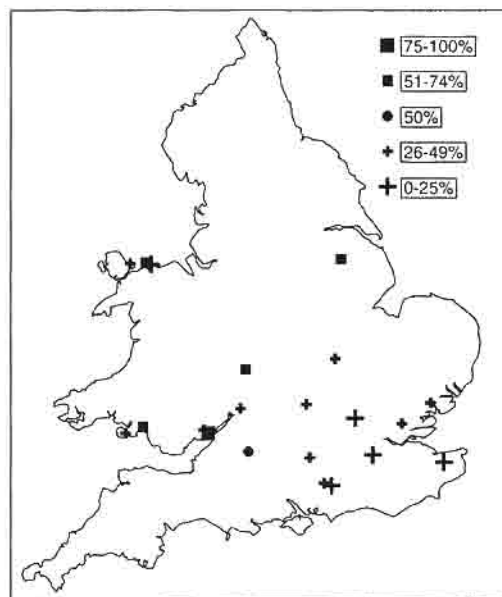


Fig. 2. Carausius hoards, C mint percentages.

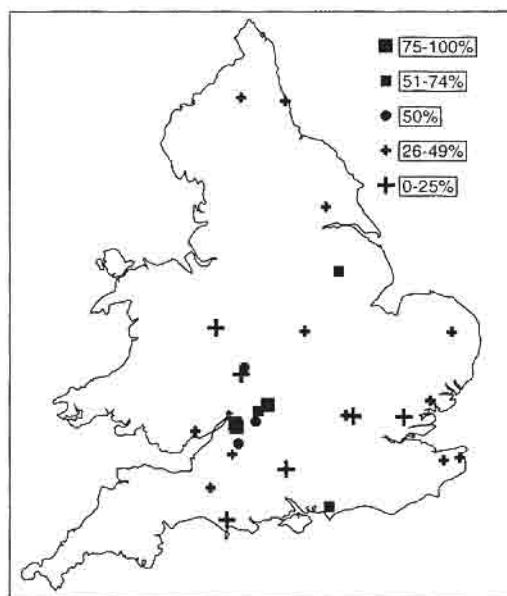


Fig. 3. Allectus radiate site finds, C mint percentages.

C mint. If the C mint issues were indeed struck in the west of Britain then intuitively one may expect clearer patterning in that region for the coinage of Allectus, owing to its more limited lifetime in circulation relative to the coinage of Carausius. It remains apparent, however, that whilst the distribution of the coinage is indicative of a western location for the C mint it does not strongly support the case for the C mint having been in any particular location.

Figure 5 illustrates a contrast to the radiates of Carausius and Allectus in that the Q radiates of Allectus are dominated by products of the C mint. The predominance of C mint issues of Q

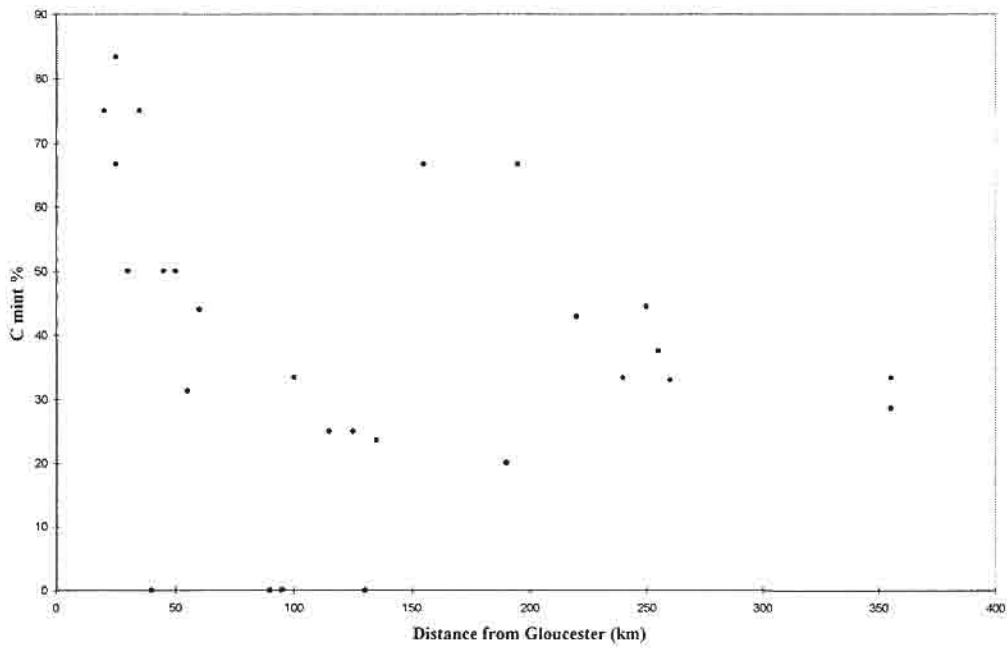


Fig. 4. Allectus radiate site finds, C mint percentage vs. distance from Gloucester.

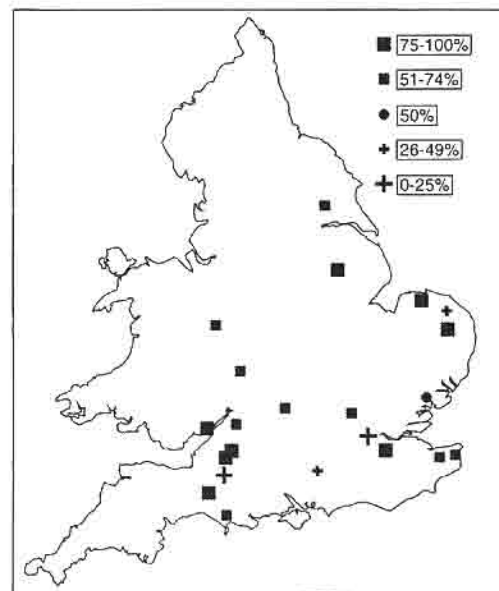


Fig. 5. Allectus Q radiate site finds, C mint percentages.

radiates has been noted before¹⁷ and is clear here. The proportion of C mint coins is high in the west of the country but levels are also high elsewhere. The smaller sample size than for the previous issues makes clarification of any trends difficult.

It is apparent that the Q radiates represent something of a departure from earlier issues. This may be seen as support for the argument that the Q radiates are different denominations to the larger radiates and are not reduced radiates.¹⁸ In this scenario the C mint produced the majority of the new denomination. The alternative, that production at London was reduced or that C mint production increased as a whole may perhaps be viewed as less likely.

Summary

The evidence collected and presented must be considered inconclusive. The attribution of the C mint to Colchester does, however, seem unlikely and the case for a western location for the C mint is strengthened. It is clear that, were the C mint at Colchester, distribution of mint products would be confused owing to the proximity of Colchester and London. However, this would not explain the concentration of C mint products in the west for Carausian hoards and, perhaps more obviously, Allectan radiate site finds.

That the distribution of mint products is never clearly distinct remains apparent. This is probably due, at least in part, to the relatively small distance which separates London from all southern British cities. Studies over a larger spatial area have demonstrated fairly distinct groupings of coins from different mints: this is the case for the eastern radiates of Probus struck at Cyzicus and Antioch.¹⁹ In contrast it has not proved possible to distinguish Gallic radiates struck at Trier from those struck at Cologne on the basis of their distribution as the two cities are separated by too small a distance.

The collection of further material may serve to clarify the picture presented here but more positive evidence will be required before the question of the C mint can be satisfactorily resolved.

SITE FIND AND HOARD TABLES

The site finds and hoards are listed in alphabetical order by the modern name of the find location. The collections used in the analysis are those site finds or hoards where there are three or more coins of the type concerned:

SITE FINDS	Carausius		Allectus		Q radiates	
	Radiates London	C	Radiates London	C	Radiates London	C
1 ALCHESTER ²⁰	2	1	0	0	0	1
2 ATWORTH ²¹	2	1	0	0	0	0
3 BATH ²²	20	19	11	5	0	4
4 BITTERNE ²³	3	2	0	0	0	2

¹⁷ P.H. Webb, *Roman Imperial Coinage. Volume V, part 2. Probus to Amandus*, edited by H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, (London, 1933), p. 447.

¹⁸ A. Burnett, (as in note 3).

¹⁹ M. Weder and C.E. King, 'The Eastern issues of Probus', *NC* 144 (1984), 202–227.

²⁰ R. Brickstock and P.J. Casey, 'Coins', in *Roman Alchester: Southern Extramural Area. 1964–1966 Excavations, Part 2: Finds and Discussion*, edited by S. Cracknell and C. Mahany (1994), pp. 157–162.

²¹ A. Shaw Mellor and R. Goodchild, 'The Roman Villa at

Atworth – the coins', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 49 (1940), 76–87.

²² D. Walker, (as in note 14), pp. 281–358; R. Reece, 'Orange Grove coins', in *Archaeology in Bath 1976–1985* edited by P. Davenport (Oxford, 1991), microfiche 1:B6.

²³ Courtesy of God's House Tower Museum of Archaeology, Southampton; B.W. Pearce, 'Coins', in M.A. Cotton and P.W. Gathercole, *Excavations at Clausentum, Southampton 1951–1954*, Ministry of Works Arch. Rep. 2 (London, 1958), pp. 135–138.

SITE FINDS	Carausius		Allectus		Q radiates	
	Radiates London	C	Radiates London	C	Radiates London	C
5 BLACK ROCK, Portskeewett ²⁴	6	0	2	0	0	1
6 BOURTON BRIDGE ²⁵	1	0	1	3	0	0
7 BOXMOOR ²⁶	3	1	0	0	0	0
8 BRADWELL ²⁷	4	6	0	0	0	0
9 BRAMPTON ²⁸	6	3	0	1	3	2
10 BRETENHAM ²⁹	2	3	1	1	0	0
11 CAERLEON ³⁰	7	4	5	4	0	0
12 CAERNARFON ³¹	7	4	0	0	0	0
13 CAERWENT ³²	20	7	1	0	0	3
14 CAISTER-ON-SEA ³³	2	1	0	1	1	0
15 CAISTOR ST EDMUND ³⁴	6	5	5	3	2	13
16 CAMERTON ³⁵	6	2	1	0	0	7
17 CANTERBURY ³⁶	31	12	8	4	3	8
18 CARRAWBURGH ³⁷	2	0	10	4	0	0
19 CATSGORE ³⁸	6	1	2	1	1	1
20 CHEDWORTH ³⁹	2	0	1	2	1	0
21 CHELMSFORD ⁴⁰	0	0	4	1	0	1
22 CHICHESTER ⁴¹	2	4	1	2	0	1
23 CIRENCESTER ⁴²	4	7	3	3	0	0
24 COLCHESTER ⁴³	11	7	4	3	8	8

²⁴ R. Hudson, 'Roman coins from the Severn Estuary at Portskeewett', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 3 (1979), 179-185.

²⁵ D.W. Burge, 'The coins', in Helen E. O'Neil, 'The Roman settlement on the Fosse Way at Bourton Bridge, Bourton on the Water, Gloucestershire', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.* 87 (1968), 53.

²⁶ P.E. Curnow, 'The coins', in D.S. Neal, 'The Roman building at Boxmoor House School', *Hertfordshire Arch.* 4 (1974-76), 100.

²⁷ P.J. Casey, 'Carausius and Allectus - rulers in Gaul?', *Britannia* 8 (1977), 283-301.

²⁸ Courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum.

²⁹ Courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum.

³⁰ Courtesy of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales: R.E.M. Wheeler and T.V. Wheeler, 'The Roman amphitheatre at Caerleon, Monmouthshire', *Archaeologia* 28 (1929), 111-218; G.C. Boon, 'Coins', in L.M. Threipland, 'Excavations at Caerleon, 1966', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 116 (1967), 46; G.C. Boon, 'Coins', in L.M. Threipland, 'The Hall, Caerleon, 1964', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 118 (1969), 101-102; G.C. Boon, 'The coins', in 'The site of the Basilica Principiorum, Caerleon', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 119 (1970), 55-56; G.C. Boon, 'The coins', in *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon. Volume II: The Finds* edited by J.D. Zienkiewicz (1986); E. Besly, 'The coins', in J.D. Zienkiewicz, 'Excavations at Caerleon: The Legionary Museum site 1983-5', *Britannia* 24 (1993), 86.

³¹ G.C. Boon, 'Segontium fifty years on: II The coins', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1976), 40-79; P.J. Casey and J.L. Davies with J. Evans, *Excavations at Segontium, Caernarfon Roman Fort, 1975-1979*, council for British Arch. Res. Rep. 90 (1993), pp. 122-164.

³² Courtesy of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales: Courtesy of Newport Museum.

³³ J.A. Davies, 'The Roman coins', in *Caistor-on-Sea Excavations by Charles Green, 1951-55*, edited by M.J. Darling and D. Gurney, *East Anglian Arch. Rep.* 60 (1993), pp. 65-68.

³⁴ Courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum; Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece.

³⁵ *Excavations at Camerton, Somerset 1926-1956*, edited by W.J. Wedlake (1958).

³⁶ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece; I. Anderson, 'The coins', in P. Blockley, 'Excavations at Riding Gate, Canterbury 1986-87', *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1989), 152; R. Reece, 'Roman coins', in *Excavations in the Cathedral Precincts, 2 Linacre Garden, Meisher Omers and St Gabriel's Chapel*, edited by J.C. Driver, J. Rody and M. Sparks, *The Archaeology of Canterbury IV* (1990), pp. 183-184.

³⁷ Lindsay Allason-Jones and B. McKay, *Coventina's Well* (Chollerford, 1985).

³⁸ E.M. Besly, 'The coins', in R. Leech, *Excavations at Catgore 1970-1973: A Romano-British Village*, Western Arch. Trust Exc. Monography 2 (Bristol, 1982), pp. 101-104.

³⁹ R. Reece, 'Coins from the Roman villa at Chedworth', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.* 78 (1959), 162-165; R. Reece, 'Further coins from the Chedworth Villa', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.* (1971), 176-177.

⁴⁰ R. Reece, 'Roman coins', in P.J. Drury, *The Mansio and other Sites in the South-eastern Sector of Caesaromagus*, Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report 3.1, Council for British Arch. Res. Rep. 66 (London, 1988), pp. 91-93.

⁴¹ R. Lintott, in *Chichester Excavations III*, edited by A. Down (Chichester, 1978); R. Lintott, 'The Roman and post Roman coins', in A. Down, *Chichester Excavations V* (Chichester, 1981).

⁴² Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece; R. Reece, 'Beeches Road Excavations - The coins', in *Houses in Roman Cirencester*, edited by A. McWhirr, *Cirencester Excavations III* (Cirencester, 1986), p. 99.

⁴³ R.A.G. Carson, 'Coins', in K.M. Richardson, 'Excavations in Lewis's Gardens, Colchester 1955 and 1958', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* i.i third series (1961), 28-30; R. Reece, in *The coins from excavations in Colchester 1971-9*, edited by Nina Crummy, *Colchester Arch. Rep.* IV (Colchester, 1987); Nina Crummy (editor), *Excavations at Culver St., the Gilbert School, and other sites in Colchester 1971-85*, *Colchester Arch. Rep.* VI (Colchester, 1992).

SITE FINDS	Carausius		Allectus		Q radiates	
	Radiates London	C	Radiates London	C	Radiates London	C
25 CORBRIDGE ⁴⁴	8	5	1	1	0	0
26 DINORBEN ⁴⁵	3	1	0	0	0	0
27 DORCHESTER ⁴⁶	12	2	4	0	2	3
28 DROITWICH ⁴⁷	0	1	2	2	1	0
29 EAST ANTON ⁴⁸	4	1	3	0	0	0
30 GADEBRIDGE PARK ⁴⁹	2	2	3	1	0	0
31 GATCOMBE ⁵⁰	2	1	1	1	0	0
32 GESTINGTHORPE ⁵¹	3	0	0	0	0	0
33 GORHAMBURY ⁵²	2	1	0	0	1	0
34 GREAT WALSINGHAM ⁵³	5	2	0	0	1	4
35 HAM HILL ⁵⁴	0	0	0	0	1	3
36 HAYTON ⁵⁵	8	5	5	4	3	6
37 ILCHESTER ⁵⁶	4	2	1	1	0	0
38 KINGSCOTE ⁵⁷	9	4	1	5	1	2
39 LAMYATT BEACON ⁵⁸	5	4	1	1	4	1
40 LEICESTER ⁵⁹	7	3	3	1	0	0
41 LINCOLN ⁶⁰	9	9	2	4	1	3
42 LLANGEINWEN (Rhyddgaer) ⁶¹	3	3	0	0	0	0
43 LOWBURY HILL ⁶²	5	1	1	0	0	0
44 LULLINGSTONE ⁶³	1	1	0	0	1	5
45 MALTON ⁶⁴	5	3	1	0	0	0
46 NEATHAM ⁶⁵	2	1	0	0	2	1
47 NETTLETON ⁶⁶	0	2	2	2	1	1
48 PORTCHESTER ⁶⁷	11	6	0	1	0	0

⁴⁴ R.H. Forster and W.H. Knowles, 'Corstopitum', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (1908–1914).

⁴⁵ Courtesy of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales.

⁴⁶ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece: R. Reece, 'Roman coins', in P. J. Woodward, S.M. Davies and A.H. Graham, *Excavations at the Old Methodist Chapel and Greyhound Yard, Dorchester, 1981–1984*, Dorset Natural History and Arch. Soc. Monograph Series 12 (Dorchester, 1993), pp. 115–116.

⁴⁷ P. Curnow, 'Handlist of coins', in P.S. Gelling, 'Report on excavations in Bays Meadow, Droitwich, Worcestershire, 1954–5', *Trans. Birmingham and Warwickshire Arch. Soc.* 75 (1959), 20–21.

⁴⁸ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece.

⁴⁹ P.E. Curnow, 'The coins – site finds', in D.S. Neal, *The Excavation of the Roman Villa in Gadebridge Park, Hemel Hempstead, 1963–8*, Society of Antiquaries Research Report 31 (London, 1974), pp. 109–114.

⁵⁰ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece: A.J. Parker, 'The coins', in *Gatcombe Roman Villa*, edited by K. Branigan, BAR British Series 44 (Oxford, 1977), pp. 142–157.

⁵¹ P. Curnow, 'Roman coins', in Jo Draper, *Excavations by Mr H.P. Cooper on the Roman Site at Hill Farm, Gestingthorpe, Essex*, East Anglian Arch. Rep. 25 (Chelmsford, 1985), pp. 22–26.

⁵² P.E. Curnow, 'The coins', in D.S. Neal, A. Wardle and J. Hunn, *Excavation of the Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Settlement at Gorhambury, St. Albans*, English Heritage Arch. Rep. 14 (London, 1990), pp. 105–112.

⁵³ Courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum.

⁵⁴ W.A. Seaby, 'Coinage from Ham Hill in Taunton Museum', *NC 5th series*, vol. 9 (1949), 166–179.

⁵⁵ J.A. McLinden, 'Roman coins from Hayton, West Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Arch. Journal* 62 (1990), 13–28.

⁵⁶ P.J. Issac, 'The coins', in *Ilchester Volume I, Excavations 1974–1975*, edited by P. Leach, Western Archaeological Trust Excavation Monograph 3 (Bristol, 1982); S. Minnitt, 'The coins', in *Ilchester volume II, Archaeology, Excavations and Fieldwork to 1984*, edited by P. Leach, Sheffield Exc. Rep. 2 (Sheffield, 1994), pp. 133–134 and 207–212.

⁵⁷ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece.

⁵⁸ E.M. Besly, 'The coins', in 'The excavation of a Romano-Celtic temple and a later cemetery on Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset', edited by R. Leach, *Britannia* 17 (1986), 304–316.

⁵⁹ B.W. Pearce, 'Coins', in *Excavations at the Jewry Wall site, Leicester*, edited by Kathleen M. Kenyon, Society of Antiquaries Research Report 15 (Oxford, 1948), pp. 279–282.

⁶⁰ J.E. Mann and R. Reece, *Roman Coins from Lincoln 1970–9*, Archaeology of Lincoln VI.2 (London, 1983).

⁶¹ Courtesy of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales.

⁶² J.A. Davies, 'The Roman coins from Lowbury Hill', *Oxonienia* 1 (1985), 1–13.

⁶³ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece.

⁶⁴ N. Mitchelson, 'Roman Malton: The civilian settlement. Excavations in Orchard Field, 1949–1952', *Yorkshire Arch. Journal* 41 (1966), 209–261.

⁶⁵ R.A. Merson, 'The coins', in M. Millet and D. Graham, *Excavations on the Romano-British Small Town at Neatham Hampshire, 1969–1979* Hampshire Field Club and Arch. Soc. Monograph 3 (Winchester, 1986), pp. 95–99.

⁶⁶ R. Reece, 'The Roman coins', in *The Excavation of the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire, 1956–1971*, edited by W.J. Wedlake, Society of the Antiquaries Research Report 40 (London, 1982).

⁶⁷ R. Reece, 'The coins', in B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Portchester Castle, Volume 1: Roman*, Society of Antiquaries Research Report 32 (London, 1975), pp. 188–197.

SITE FINDS		Carausius Radiates London		Allectus Radiates London		Q radiates London	
			C		C		C
49	RICHBOROUGH ⁶⁸	125	73	69	34	41	43
50	ST ALBANS ⁶⁹	75	34	13	4	10	18
51	SEA MILLS ⁷⁰	1	3	0	2	0	0
52	SHAKENOAK FARM, Wilcote ⁷¹	1	0	1	0	1	2
53	SOUTH SHIELDS ⁷²	8	11	6	3	0	1
54	SOUTHWARK ⁷³	1	0	0	0	4	0
55	ULEY ⁷⁴	2	1	1	3	0	1
56	WANBOROUGH ⁷⁵	6	4	0	0	1	1
57	WARE ⁷⁶	4	2	1	1	2	0
58	WICKFORD ⁷⁷	1	3	0	0	2	0
59	WIGHTON ⁷⁸	4	0	2	0	1	0
60	WINCHESTER ⁷⁹	8	2	2	0	1	1
61	WORCESTER ⁸⁰	4	4	5	0	1	2
62	WROXETER ⁸¹	4	4	5	0	1	2
HOARDS		Carausius Radiates London		Allectus Radiates London		Q radiates London	
			C		C		C
63	BICESTER ⁸²	10	4	0	0	0	0
64	BLACKMOOR ⁸³	101	62	7	5	32	34
65	BURTON LATIMER ⁸⁴	31	25	31	17	0	0
66	CAERWENT ⁸⁵	1	4	1	3	0	0
67	CANTERBURY ¹⁸⁶	56	6	0	0	0	0
68	COLCHESTER ⁸⁷	52	46	113	51	1	2
69	CROYDON ⁸⁸	12	2	0	0	0	0
70	DIN SILWY ⁸⁹	6	2	0	0	0	0

⁶⁸ R. Reece, 'The Roman coins from Richborough – a summary', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 18 (1981), 49–71.

⁶⁹ R. Reece, 'The coins', in S.S. Frere, *Verulamium Excavations volume III*, Oxford Monographs I (Oxford, 1984), pp. 3–17.

⁷⁰ R. Reece, 'Roman coins from Sea Mills', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.* 85 (1966), 218–220; D. Dawson, 'The coins', in P. Ellis, 'Sea Mills, Bristol: the 1965–8 excavations in the Roman town of Abona', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.* (1987), 60–63.

⁷¹ A.C.C. Brodribb, A.R. Hands and D.R. Walker, *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm, near Wilcote, Oxfordshire* (1968, 1971, 1973).

⁷² J. Casey, 'The coins from South Shields – catalogue', in J.N. Dore and J.P. Gillam, *The Roman Fort at South Shields Excavations 1875–1975*, Soc. Antiqs, Newcastle Upon Tyne Monograph Series I (Newcastle, 1979), pp. 75–93.

⁷³ M. Hammerson, 'The Roman coins from Southwark', in *Excavations in Southwark 1973–76*, *Lambeth 1973–79*, edited by P. Hinton, London and Middlesex Arch. Soc. and Southwark Arch. Soc. Joint Publication 3 (London, 1988), pp. 417–426.

⁷⁴ R. Reece, 'The coins – coin list', in A. Woodward and P. Leach, *The Uley Shrines. Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire: 1977–9*, English Heritage Arch. Rep. 17 (London, 1993), pp. 80–87.

⁷⁵ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece.

⁷⁶ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece.

⁷⁷ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece.

⁷⁸ Courtesy of Norwich Castle Museum.

⁷⁹ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece.

⁸⁰ M. Fendall, 'Sylloge of coins from the City of Worcester, Roman', in P. Barker, 'The origins of Worcester', *Trans. Worcester Arch. Soc.* 3rd series, vol. 2 (1968–9), 106–112.

⁸¹ J.P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations on the site of the Roman town at Wroxeter*, Society of Antiquaries Research Reports 1, 2, 4 (Oxford, 1913, 1914, 1916); D. Atkinson, *Report on Excavations at Wroxeter in the County of Salop 1923–1927* (Oxford, 1942).

⁸² C.E. King, 'A small hoard of Carausius found near Bicester, Oxfordshire', *BNJ* 52 (1982), 7–17.

⁸³ R.F. Bland, *The Blackmoor Hoard*, *CHRB* 3, BM Occasional Paper 33 (London, 1982).

⁸⁴ R. Bland, 'A hoard of Carausius and Allectus from Burton Latimer', *BNJ* 54 (1984), 41–54.

⁸⁵ T. Ashby, A.E. Hudd and F. King, 'Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the site of the Romano-British city of Venta-Silurum, in the years 1909 and 1910', *Archaeologia* 62 (1911), 432.

⁸⁶ Courtesy of Dr Richard Reece.

⁸⁷ A.H.F. Baldwin, 'A find of coins of Carausius and Allectus from Colchester', *NC* 5th series, vol. 10 (1930), 173–195.

⁸⁸ A. Burnett and J. Casey, 'A Carausian hoard from Croydon, Surrey and a note on Carausius's continental possessions', *BNJ* 54 (1984), 10–21.

⁸⁹ Courtesy of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales.

HOARDS		Carausius Radiates London		Allectus Radiates London		Q radiates London	
			C		C		C
71	DROITWICH ⁹⁰	1	2	6	3	0	0
72	GLOUCESTER ⁹¹	15	12	0	2	0	0
73	GREAT ORMES HEAD ⁹²	5	2	0	0	0	0
74	GREAT ORME ⁹³	5	6	0	0	0	0
75	LACOCK ⁹⁴	4	4	0	0	0	0
76	LINCHMERE ⁹⁵	459	35	0	0	0	0
77	LITTLE ORMES HEAD ⁹⁶	104	22	0	0	0	0
78	MARGARETTING ⁹⁷	6	4	0	0	0	0
79	NORMANBY ⁹⁸	5	6	0	0	0	0
80	PENARD ⁹⁹	8	3	0	0	0	0
81	RICHBOROUGH IV. 6 ¹⁰⁰	0	0	0	6	0	0
82	ST ALBANS (Shiel 3.11) ¹⁰¹	3	0	0	0	0	0
83	ST ALBANS (Shiel 1.35) ¹⁰²	4	3	0	0	0	0
84	SILCHESTER II ¹⁰³	11	7	0	0	0	0
85	SKEWEN ¹⁰⁴	3	6	0	1	0	0
86	SOUTH NORWOOD ¹⁰⁵	4	0	0	0	0	0
87	WENTWOOD MILL ¹⁰⁶	2	1	0	0	0	0

⁹⁰ N. Shiel, 'A small coin hoard from Droitwich', *CH* 2 (1976), 52–53.

⁹¹ Courtesy of Dr Roger Bland, Department of Coins and Medals, BM.

⁹² Courtesy of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales.

⁹³ Courtesy of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales.

⁹⁴ R. Bland, *The Chalfont Hoard and other Roman Coin Hoards*, *CHRB* 9 (London, 1992).

⁹⁵ P.H. Webb, 'The Linchmere Hoard', *NC* 5th series, vol. 5 (1925), 173–235.

⁹⁶ H.A. Seaby, 'A find of Carausius from the Little Ormes Head', *NC* 6th series, vol. 16 (1956), 205–246.

⁹⁷ Courtesy of Colchester Museum.

⁹⁸ R. Bland and A. Burnett (editors), *The Normanby Hoard and other Roman Coin Hoards*, *CHRB* 8 (London, 1988).

⁹⁹ Courtesy of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales.

¹⁰⁰ N. Shiel (as in note 5): It has not proved possible to verify the contents of this hoard which must, for the present purpose, be considered uncertain.

¹⁰¹ H.P.G. Williams, 'A small Carausian hoard from the Wheeler excavations at Verulamium', *BNJ* 60 (1990), 130–131.

¹⁰² R.E.M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium* (1936).

¹⁰³ G.C. Boon, 'Hoards of Roman coins found at Silchester', *NC* 6th series, vol. 20, 241–252.

¹⁰⁴ G.A. Taylor, 'A find of Roman coins near Neath, Glamorganshire', *NC* 5th series, vol. 10 (1930).

¹⁰⁵ N. Shiel, (as in note 5).

¹⁰⁶ Courtesy of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales.

TWO NINTH-CENTURY VIKING WEIGHTS FOUND NEAR KINGSTON, DORSET

MARION M. ARCHIBALD

TWO lead weights, one with a coin naming Æthelred I of Wessex, 865–71, pinned to its top and the other with a reverse impression of a coin of the same sub-type of the Lunettes coinage, were acquired by the British Museum in March 1991. They had been discovered shortly before by a metal-detectorist near Kingston, south-east of Wareham, Dorset, in close proximity but not actually together.

The weights

Weight A. *Pl. 1, 1 and 3–5*¹

Shape	Truncated cone but almost cylindrical; the top is at a slight angle to the horizontal, the sides are slightly waisted and the whole leans just off the vertical.
Top	The rounded top has set into it, obverse up, a base-silver Lunettes type penny in the name of Æthelred I of Wessex, 865–71, with a diademed bust to right surrounded by an unbroken legend, +AEDEREDREX starting at seven o'clock. The coin is placed slightly off-centre and is further secured by a central pin with a silver domed head c. 6mm in diameter. The reverse of this coin is probably of the hooked-lines variety (see below).
Base	The base is slightly concave, and the junction with the sides is sharp, allowing for the distress. There is a small, apparently original, hole in the centre of the base corresponding to the pin which appears to end some way from the surface. The position of the pin means that its metal is not accessible for examination.
Dimensions	Height: 17mm; top diameter: 27mm; base diameter: 28mm.
Present weight	99.97g (1543.2gr). Material: lead with base-silver coin and fine-silver topped pin. ²
Findspot	Found near Kingston, Isle of Purbeck, Dorset, close to but not with weight B in late 1990 or early 1991.
Condition	Many minor surface dents and a few scratches with some more prominent chipping on the base; a deep vertical score on the edge (<i>Pl. 1, 1</i>) is also probably accidental damage. The body of the weight is not corroded, but the coin shows slight non-active surface corrosion; it is not pecked.
Location	British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals; on exhibition in the HSBC Money Gallery.

Weight B. *Pl. 1, 2 and 6–9*

Shape	Shallow truncated cone or thick disc slightly wider at the base than the top. It is oval rather than a true circle in section and the top slopes at
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¹ The writer is grateful to Steven Dodd of the British Museum Photographic Service for the photographs of the weights.

Museum Research Laboratory for analysing the metal of the body of the weight and the pin-head. The metal of the coin was not analysed.

² The writer is grateful to Michael Cowell of the British

	an angle from the horizontal; the sides are mainly straight, but with some concavity, and the whole leans just off the vertical.
Top	Less rounded than weight A, the top bears, slightly off-centre, the impression of the reverse of a Lunettes type penny of the moneyer Biarnulf, of the variety with the central line of the inscription bordered by two hooked lines, reading: / FMO / BIARNVL / ETA / with a trefoil of pellets before and after ETA (details are more easily legible on the reversed image, Pl. 1, 9). The obverse of the coin which had been set onto this weight was probably in the name of Alfred of Wessex, 871–99 (see below). There is a prominent rounded concavity in the surface which may be explained by the probable production technique (see below).
Base	The base is slightly concave, but less so than that of weight A, and the junction of the base with the sides is fairly sharp where the original metal survives.
Dimensions	Height: 10mm declining to 8mm; top: oval, 31 x 26mm; base: oval, 33 x 28mm.
Present weight	71.44g (1102.5gr). Material : lead.
Findspot	Found near Kingston, Isle of Purbeck, Dorset, close to but not with weight A, in late 1990 or early 1991.
Condition	Less well-preserved than weight A with many surface chips, dents and scratches, but uncorroded. There are several larger chips around the base so the original weight would have been a little higher than it is now, with a further addition necessary for the missing coin (see below).
Location	British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals.

Production technique

The reasonably good condition of the weights allows the probable technique of production to be suggested. The bases of both have a clear meniscus showing that the lead was initially cast in moulds. The matrices could have been made using existing weights or wooden masters, apparently pushed into the medium (clay?) at a slight angle. Expert craftsmen would then have been able to pour the molten metal into them pretty accurately by eye.³ The prominent rounded hole in the top of weight B has quite a different character from the rest of the damage and appears to have been present before the missing coin was put in place. It may possibly have been caused by a trapped air bubble when the mould was filled.

The surface of the coin on weight A is proud of the top of the lead, and there is no sign of a rubbed-up setting. The clear impression on weight B and the firm seating of the coin (independently of the pin) on weight A suggest that after removal from the moulds the bases of the castings (which became the tops of the weights) either had a heated coin pressed onto them or, perhaps more likely in view of the slightly waisted shape, the tops were heated and a coin was pressed into the softened metal. The interstices of the inscription would key the coin into the locally melted lead more securely, and with less potential damage, than hammering it in place onto solid metal. Some tooling may have followed to neaten the finished product and to make any necessary adjustment to the weight to conform to the required unit standard. The preferred methodology would have produced the slightly concave sides, a form which would have been impossible from the simple one-piece mould otherwise implied.

In the case of weight B, the coin whose impression it bears could theoretically have been used only as a stamp to impress a design but, in view of the similarities of the weights and their

³ S.E. Kruse, R.D. Smith and K. Starling, 'Experimental casting of silver ingots', *Historical Metallurgy*, 22 (1988) part 2, pp. 97–92.

close association, it is safe to accept that weight B also had a coin on top, now missing, with the head-side uppermost as on weight A.

The coin on weight A was further secured by a pin which was made into a decorative feature with a large silver head. The metal of this boss is fine silver and could not have come directly from the general run of base Lunettes coins; it was either from a fortuitous survivor of Burgred's earliest Lunettes coinage, a Carolingian coin or, most likely, refined bullion or silver derived from a non-numismatic source. As weight B lacks such a fixture, it must be asked whether the pin on weight A is a repair rather than an original feature. Whilst this is possible, it is unlikely as both methods of manufacture were current at this period (see **Comparable Material** below). The differences in shape and the addition of the prominent pin-head may have been designed to enable the user to differentiate easily between two weights close together in mass, a function beyond the decorative also served by the small pieces of re-used metalwork topping other broadly contemporary weights. The Kingston weights share several design-features, were topped by coins of the same rare sub-type and have a common findspot. This strongly suggests that they have the same ethnic origin, are closely contemporary, were probably made in the same workshop and were deposited together. They were, or were part of, 'a set'.

The coins

The coin naming Æthelred I of Wessex, 865–871, pinned to weight A is from a rare series of coins of a variety of the Lunettes type with the moneyer's name between two hooked lines (BMC I-, North sub-type (b), no. 623). Although only the obverse is visible here, it possesses the diagnostic features of an unbroken inscription and the king's name in a form which omits the L, neither of which is found on Æthelred's other Lunettes pennies. There is no acceptable means of verifying the reverse sub-type or identifying the moneyer of the coin on the weight, and there is no obverse die-link with or among the five other known coins. All these are by different moneyers, and the Kingston coin could well be by yet another.

The impression on weight B is from a reverse of a coin of the same hooked-lines group.⁴ The moneyer Biarn[w]ulf was not previously recorded for any issuer in this variety, and is not known in other types for Æthelred I or for Burgred of Mercia, 852–74. He is recorded for Alfred, 871–99, in the substantive Lunettes type and also in another sub-type with the lunettes broken at top and bottom and at the corners. A moneyer of the same name worked for a period in the later 850s to early 860s for Archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury, 833–70. If he was the same person or a member of the same moneyer-dynasty it would, like the form of his name, suggest that he had originally been based in Canterbury. As there are few duplications of moneyers' names, and no die-identities, among the coins of the hooked-lines sub-type known for Æthelred and Alfred, it is clear that this coinage was conceived on a larger scale than its present survivors would indicate. Further 'new' moneyers may be expected, including the possibility of moneyers in common for Æthelred and Alfred as in the substantive Lunettes series. While it therefore cannot be ruled out that the coin formerly on weight B named Æthelred, present evidence makes Alfred more likely (BMC Ic, North sub-type (d), no. 628).

Hugh Pagan has proposed that the hooked-lines sub-type for the West Saxon kings was produced late in the Lunette period, c. 873–4, and that the coins naming Æthelred are posthumous and imitative.⁵ He has also suggested that they were produced in Mercia and, in a

⁴ This sub-type and related groups are discussed in a number of papers by H.E. Pagan: 'Coinage in the age of Burgred', *BNJ* 34 (1965), 11–27; 'The coins from the mass-burial' in M. Biddle *et al.*, 'Coins of the Anglo-Saxon period from Repton, Derbyshire', *M.A.S.* Blackburn (editor), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, Leicester 1986, pp. 115–19; 'A

second parcel of pennies of the 870s from a grave at Repton', in M. Biddle *et al.*, 'Coins of the Anglo-Saxon period from Repton, Derbyshire: II', *BNJ* 56 (1987), 16–19. Two new coins in the names of Æthelred I and Alfred of Wessex, *NCirc.*, 99 (1991), 6.

⁵ Most recently, H.E. Pagan 1991, *supra*, p. 2.

paper with Lord Stewartby, that there is good evidence that some of the coins of Alfred are from a west-Mercian mint.⁶ The exact date, origin and status of this and related groups, as Mark Blackburn has recently written,⁷ have still to be determined and it would be inappropriate to reopen the discussion of this complex subject here. Evidence for a *terminus ante quem* for the issue of hooked-lines coins, independent of these numismatic considerations, is provided by their presence in graves excavated at Repton, Derbyshire, the archaeological character of which is securely Viking and the context of which is the occupation by the invaders in 873–4.⁸ The Lunettes type was superseded in Anglo-Saxon England c. 875 by new reformed pennies of fine silver and heavier weight (BMC V) struck for Alfred and for Ceolwulf II who had become king of Mercia as a Viking protégé after Burgred's departure in 874. There is no hoard evidence on how long Lunettes coins may have survived in what became the Danelaw, but prolonged availability is unlikely and the strong evidence of the context discussed below places the terminus for the manufacture of the weights in the earlier 870s.

Comparable material

Although Anglo-Saxon documentary sources frequently refer to or imply the weighing of precious metal and other commodities, relatively few weights have survived in England from the period between the ninth century and the Norman Conquest: in her corpus Susan Kruse was able to list only forty-three.⁹ Almost all come from the east and north-east of the country, with twenty-seven accounted for by the excavations in Coppergate, York. While this dichotomy between the Viking-controlled areas of the country and the rest of Anglo-Saxon England may be partially explained by other factors, it is clear that weights are more common in the initially silver-weight economy of the former than in the money-economy of the latter. Weights of the same generic types are also found commonly in Scandinavia, and in smaller numbers in Scotland and Ireland, aside from the Dublin excavations which have produced some two hundred specimens.¹⁰ It is often difficult, in a period of migration, to decide on the ethnic origin and place of manufacture of particular weights, especially as many have no diagnostic context. Close dating is often impossible and fewer securely dated examples survive from the ninth century relevant here than from the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The general category to which the Kingston weights belong, Kruse Group 4, comprises lead weights mounted with pieces of copper-alloy or other metalwork, often re-used fragments from small decorative Anglo-Saxon, Scottish or Irish objects such as brooches.¹¹ Both techniques of heat-setting and pinning are used on these weights. Dr Kruse paralleled this re-use of decorative metalwork on other undoubtedly Scandinavian artifacts found in the Vikings' homelands but noted that that weights of this kind from Norway are generally from tenth-century contexts, whilst those from Ireland and Scotland are of the ninth century. She concluded that the weights may be a product of the Scandinavian settlers in the Irish Sea area. It is material to ask if lead weights with coins or specially-designed metal tops were made in England before the Viking Age, but no examples certainly of the eighth century are yet known.

⁶ H.E. Pagan and B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'A new moneyer for Alfred's Lunettes type', *NCirc*, 97 (1989), 8.

⁷ M. Blackburn, 'The London mint in the reign of Alfred', M.A.S. Blackburn and D.N. Dumville (editors), *Kings, Currency and Alliances*, Woodbridge 1998, pp. 105–23 at p. 109.

⁸ M. Biddle and B. Kjolbye-Biddle, 'The Repton finds: the archaeological and historical significance' in M. Biddle *et al.*, 'Coins of the Anglo-Saxon period from Repton, Derbyshire: II', *BNJ* 56 (1986), 24–32.

⁹ S.E. Kruse, 'Late Saxon balances and weights from England', *Medieval Archaeology* 36 (1992), 67–95. The weights from England are listed on p.87. The writer deals

comprehensively only with the weights from England, but cites parallel Viking Age finds from Scotland and Ireland with a full bibliography. None of the weights are illustrated so it is necessary to consult the sources cited.

¹⁰ The weights have not yet been published in detail but are discussed by Dr Kruse quoting the excavator's general paper: P.F. Wallace, 'The economy and commerce of Viking Age Dublin in K. Düwel *et al.* (editors), *Untersuchen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa. Teil IV. Der Handel der Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, Göttingen, 1987.

¹¹ Kruse 1992 as in n. 9, pp. 81–2.

Some weights of this group have Northumbrian stycas (copper-alloy pennies) set into or pinned to their tops. The first of these to come to light were two excavated in 1876 with other weights, weapons and smith's equipment in a grave at Vig, Fjaere, Aust-Agder in Norway. The coins of Eanred, c. 810–40 (or c. 830–c. 854), are mounted without pins to show (fortuitously) an obverse and a reverse.¹² The rich Viking boat burial found in 1882–3 at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, in the Scottish Hebrides included scales and several lead weights set with re-used metalwork, alongside stycas of Æthelred II of Northumbria, First Reign c. 840–4 (or c. 854–c. 858), and Archbishop Wigmund of York, 837–54, both coins with central holes.¹³ In such company, the stycas may be identified with some confidence as the tops from other weights (probably smaller than those from the hoard which survived intact) whose lead bases have decayed. Another lead weight set with an unidentifiable styca was found by a metal-detectorist at South Newbold, South Humberside.¹⁴ All these examples are in poor condition but have been interpreted as weights for lower denominations within the Scandinavian weight-system, generally for one ora or a half-ora. Such weights are however more likely to have been produced, at least initially, where stycas were most readily available in north-east England, although none has so far been found among the many weights excavated from York. Several further isolated finds have been made in England in the past few years, adding to the evidence that these styca-topped weights were made on the west side of the North Sea. No additional examples have been discovered in Scandinavia despite extensive excavation including sites where other weights have been found, suggesting that the Vig stycas are more likely to have been taken to Scandinavia already on the weights than as loose coins. The recent English finds are to be published shortly by other students, and so are not discussed further here.

The Kingston weights are the only ones known to have been topped with broad pennies but another possible candidate is represented by an official silver penny struck c. 820 for Coenwulf of Mercia, 796–821, with a large round central piercing (type as North 357).¹⁵ The coin has been pierced, like that on Kingston weight A, with the obverse uppermost and into soft material as the edges of the hole are not deformed. The position and shape of the piercing make the coin's re-use in jewellery unlikely. Whilst attachment as a decoration to a wooden or leather object might be possible, neither can be paralleled. This coin was found near Cirencester, Gloucestershire, where the Viking army (the same that had previously been in Wareham) had its winter base in 878–9, after its defeat by Alfred at Edington and before departing to settle in East Anglia. It had also passed through the area earlier in 878 on its way from Gloucester to Chippenham (see map, Fig. 1). The coin could have been acquired locally, but might have been brought by the Vikings, on its postulated weight like the ones from Wareham, from elsewhere in Mercia. Pennies of Coenwulf were issued in large numbers and remained an appreciable percentage of Mercian currency for some considerable time, but they had almost certainly been driven out of normal circulation by later issues of poorer silver before the arrival of the Viking Great Army in 865.¹⁶

¹² K. Skaare, *Coins and Coinage in Viking Age Norway*, Oslo, 1976, pp. 44–5 and 144 and pl. IV, 12–13.

¹³ For the intact metalwork topped weights: J. Graham-Campbell, *Viking Artifacts*, British Museum, London 1980, p. 88, pl. 307; for the holed stycas: *SCBI 6 National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland Part I*, London 1966, p. xx and pl. I, nos 22 and 42. A further styca also in the hoard is now lost; it was said to be 'illegible' and is not described further but may be the top of another decayed weight.

¹⁴ J. Booth and I. Blowers, 'Finds of scaeatta and stycas from Sancton, NC 143 (1983), 139–45, pl. 21, 64. The location of the find was corrected to South Newbold in J. Booth, 'Northumbrian coinage: the productive site at South Newbold', *The Yorkshire Numismatist* 3 (1997), 15–38.

¹⁵ M.A.S. Blackburn and M.J. Bonser, 'Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins – 3', *BNJ* 56 (1986), 64 –

101, at p. 83 no. 85. The coin is now in the British Museum.

¹⁶ Coins of Coenwulf account for nearly sixty per cent of the Mercian element in the Middle Temple, London, hoard the deposition and non-recovery of which is plausibly associated with the Viking descent on London in 842, (J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publications No. 1, 1956, p. 140 no. 366 'Unknown site'; M. Dolley, 'A note on the circumstances of the finding of the Middle Temple hoard', *NCirc* Sept. 1976, 316–17.) Nearly twenty-nine per cent of the Mercian coins in Sevington, Wiltshire, c. 850 were still of this reign (C.E. Blunt, 'The Sevington hoard of 1834', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 7–13), and there are stray survivors as late as Dorking, Surrey, c. 862 (*Inventory* 123 and R.H.M. Dolley and K. Skaare, *The coinage of Æthelwulf, King of the West Saxons* in R.H.M. Dolley, *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, London 1961).

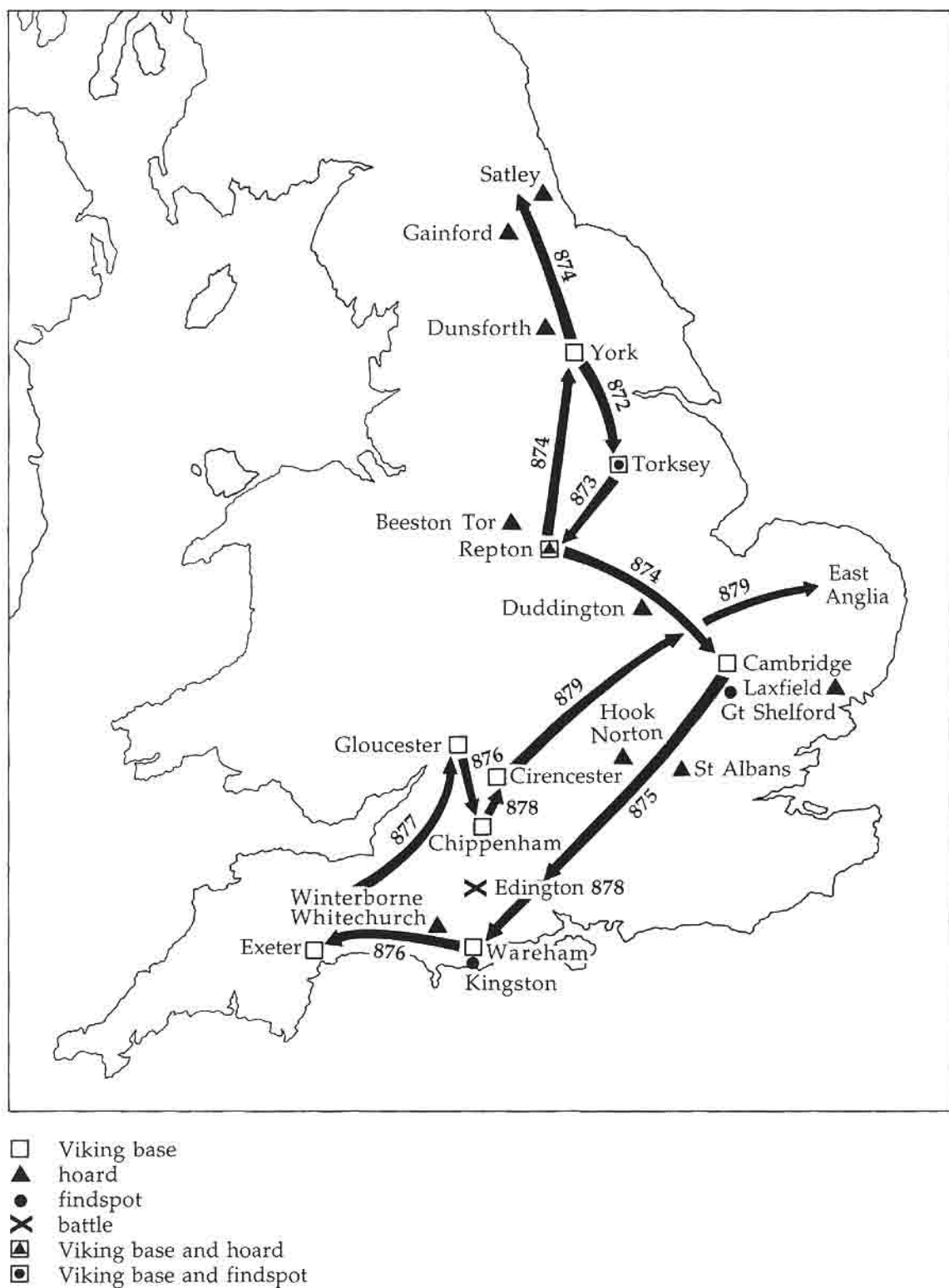


Fig. 1. Viking itinerary and bases, late Lunettes hoards and Hooked-Line variety find-spots.

A late survival remains possible, however, especially at a time when long-held bullion was being surrendered to buy off the invaders. The alternative explanation, that weights of this type were already being used in Anglo-Saxon England before the arrival of the Vikings, is something for which there is no other evidence. As even the purpose of the re-use of the Coenwulf penny is unproven, it is not productive to pursue the matter further, but this piece and the possibility of cognates may be kept in mind. The remnant of a coin-topped weight should also be considered in the case of isolated unpierced coins, particularly when found with weighing equipment.

Place of manufacture

The two weights under discussion were found in Wessex, but numismatic research quoted above has suggested that the coins mounted on them were probably struck in Mercia, while the associations of comparable weights have just been shown to be Viking. It is therefore likely that the Kingston weights were manufactured in a place where the Vikings were settled or based, and where the coins concerned were readily available. The map (for which the writer is indebted to Elizabeth Errington) shows the bases and schematic itinerary of the Viking armies south of York from later 872 to 879. There are only two known site-finds of the relevant hooked-lines coins (also marked on the map): Torksey, Lincolnshire, where the Vikings were based in 872–3, and Great Shelford,¹⁷ about five miles south of their Cambridge base of 874–5. The Kingston weights topped with two more of these coins were found close to another Viking base at Wareham, occupied in 875–6. The paucity of site-finds makes it necessary to take account of the hoard evidence despite the usual problems. The location of all English hoards of the late Lunettes period from c. 873 to the end of the issue c. 875 have also been entered on the map¹⁸ and similarly show a remarkably close correlation with contemporary Viking activity. Coins of the hooked-line sub-type in the names of Æthelred I and Alfred are present only in the hoards from Beeston Tor, Staffordshire, Duddington, Northamptonshire, and Repton, Derbyshire (in both of two small hoards). A full analysis of the hoards and their dating cannot be entered into here but their contents and the distribution pattern of all these finds in the context of Viking movements suggest that the Kingston weights were probably made at one of the Viking bases in north-east Mercia and brought by the raiders to Kingston.

The weight-units

The irregular form of the Kingston finds makes them unsuitable for the application of weight-restoration techniques, so the original weight cannot be calculated precisely and any estimation of their weight-loss is subjective. Weight A weighs 99.97g. The slight corrosion on the coin and residual soil has marginally added to its weight but, having lost some metal through damage to the base, it is now slightly below its original weight. The standard being aimed at was therefore a little above 100g. Weight B weighs 71.44g. To this must be added the currency weight of a well-preserved specimen of the hooked-lines group. As most of the extant coins of this sub-type are corroded or damaged there is little evidence on which to base an assessment of their normal weight; it may serve to add 1.30g, the median weight of the Lunettes coins in general, hence bringing weight B up to c. 72.74g. The greater damage sustained by weight B means that its original weight will have exceeded its present weight by

¹⁷ For Shelford and the Vikings see C. Hart, *The Danelaw*, London 1992, pp. 11–12.

¹⁸ The dating of hoards cited here and elsewhere in this paper follows M. Blackburn and H. Pagan, 'A revised checklist of coin hoards from the British Isles, c. 500–1100', in

M.A.S. Blackburn (editor), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, Leicester 1986, 291–313, where bibliographical details are given. The contents of the recent Duddington, Northamptonshire, hoard are listed in *Treasure Trove Reviewing Committee Annual Report 1995–96*, pp. 15–16.

slightly more than was the case with weight A. The standard being aimed at is therefore likely to have been just above 75g. As it has been established that the two Kingston weights are effectively 'a set', their relationship is likely to have been four units to three units and the weight-system being sought must be able to accommodate both in that ratio. The unit of the system involved is thus likely to be somewhere in the mid-twenties of grammes. Units in this area produce the following figures:

Unit weight	X 4	X 3
24.0g	96.0g	72.0g
24.5g	98.0g	73.5g
25.0g	100.0g	75.0g
25.5g	102.0g	76.5g
26.0g	104.0g	78.0g
26.5g	106.0g	79.5g
27.0g	108.0g	81.0g

Viewed objectively, a unit of 25.5g or 26g would seem to fit the present weight and condition of the Kingston weights best, making them about 2.0% and 5.0%, or 3.9% and 6.7%, respectively below their original weight.

Considerable uncertainty surrounds the identification of the weight-systems and weight-units represented by the extant weights of this period. It is complicated by damage and corrosion to the objects themselves, by variations in the actual (as opposed to the theoretical) standard current in different places and by deliberate or inadvertent deviation, either upwards or downwards, from that standard.¹⁹ It is, however, agreed that the unit in the mid-twenties of grammes is to be identified with the Scandinavian ora and the English ounce which were probably synonymous.²⁰ Various weights in this range have been calculated for the unit in terms of modern grammes, based on surviving weights and other artifacts from both Scandinavia and the British Isles.²¹ One of the difficulties for present purposes is that most of the evidence both material and documentary is later than the ninth century. A widely accepted value for the ora, based on the weights found at Hedeby, is one of 24.4±0.8g,²² but 24.4g (x4 : 97.6g and x3 : 73.2g) and even the upper limit of 25.2g (100.8g and 75.6g) are too light to fit the Kingston weights unless they were both materially over-standard when new. The figure of 26.6g derived from the Dublin weights seems, on the other hand, to be a little too heavy.²³ It was not possible for Dr Kruse to separate the weights she listed from England into the different systems or to suggest specific standards, concluding that 'there is a hint that units in

¹⁹ The extensive literature in addition to her own work is detailed by Dr Kruse in S.E. Kruse 1992 as in n. 9 and S.E. Kruse 1988 as in note 21. The following are the principal works relevant to the present discussion: N. Biggs, 'Coin-weights in England. - up to 1588', *BNJ* 60 (1990), 65-79; A.W. Brøgger, 'Ertog og øre. Den gamle norske vekt', *Videnskapselskabet's Skrifter* (Hist. - Filos. Klasse 3), 2; H.M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, Cambridge, 1905; R.D. Connor, *The Weights and Measures of England*, Science Museum, London, 1987; J.A. Graham-Campbell, 'The Viking-age silver and gold hoards of Scandinavian character from Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 107 (1975-6), 114-35; P. Grierson, 'Weight and coinage', *NC* 1964, iii-xvii; B. Kitch, *Scales and Weights. A Historical Outline*, Yale Studies in the History of Science and Medicine I (1965); C.S.S. Lyon, 'Historical problems of Anglo-Saxon Coinage 3: Denominations and weights', *BNJ* 38 (1969), 204-22; P. Nightingale, 'The ora, the mark and the mancus: weight-

standards and the coinage in eleventh-century England', parts 1 and 2, *NC* 143(1983), 248-257, and 144 (1984), 234-48; R.A. Smith, 'Early Anglo-Saxon weights', *Antiquaries Journal* 3 (1923), 122-8; H. Steuer, 'Gewichte aus Haithabu', *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu*, 6 (1973), 9-22.

²⁰ Lyon 1969 (as in note 19) p. 209-10; Nightingale 1984 (as in note 19), p. 235. Dr Nightingale's independent view is that 'the weight of the Viking ora seems to have been reduced from c. 27g to c. 24.5g in the period of the migrations. There is every likelihood that the change was made to match the English ounce.'

²¹ S.E. Kruse, 'Ingots and weight units in Viking Age silver hoards', *World Archaeology* vol. 20 no. 2 (October 1988) 285-301, throughout the text and summarised in Table 2 on p. 295.

²² H. Steuer 1973, as in n. 19. The refined figure given by Kruse 1992, as in n. 9, p. 287 is quoted from unpublished work by H.-O. Neilsen on the Hedeby weights.

²³ P.F. Wallace 1987, as in n. 10.

the mid 20 grams and its multiples were desired'. She also expressed the view that possibly everything from c. 24g–26.7g may represent a single weight standard, with regional variations and considerable deviation from even local norms. The best match for the Kingston weights is in fact the unit of c. 26g established by Dr Kruse on the basis of the silver ingots found in the British Isles, heavily dominated by the (presumptively) mainly ninth-century examples from the Cuerdale, Lancashire, Viking treasure of c. 905.²⁴ Working from numismatic evidence and documentary sources, Stewart Lyon suggested an equation of 300 Anglo-Saxon pence and a pound of silver, which is divided into fifteen ounces each of 26g made up of twenty light currency pence of 20 grains (1.30g).²⁵ It may be concluded therefore that the Kingston weights were intended to be for four and three ore / ounces, probably of c. 26g.

Anglo-Saxon or Viking?

Viewed as simple multiples of the ora / ounce the Kingston weights could be accommodated in both the Anglo-Saxon and Viking systems. Since they were found in Anglo-Saxon Wessex, it must be decided, independently of the other evidence above, for which system they were designed. The duodecimal denominations immediately point to the Viking system. On the basis of eight ore to the Viking mark (an equivalence in fact documented only later in the Scandinavian sources), the heavier Kingston weight of four ore is also a half-mark, a common unit sometimes used in preference to the whole mark. The earliest reference to the mark as a weight in England is to this half denomination, in the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum of c. 880 where it is said that 'if a man is slain, all of us estimate Englishman and Dane at the same amount, at eight half-marks of pure gold'.²⁶ In the later Danelaw law codes conventional fines of half a mark are frequent.²⁷ A half-mark weight would therefore have been a most useful denomination. Although three ore is not a sub-multiple of the mark, the two weights could be used successively or in conjunction to weight out material to any number of ore within the mark from one to eight. Turning to the Anglo-Saxon system, four ounces are not an even division of the prevailing fifteen-ounce pound, and three ounces at a fifth part of it are not a particularly useful sub-multiple. An Anglo-Saxon currency shilling containing five 20 grain (1.3g) pennies would weigh 6.5g, so a four ounce weight represents sixteen shillings and a three ounce weight twelve shillings. As values in shillings are usually quoted in Anglo-Saxon written sources in multiples of five or ten,²⁸ the Kingston weights do not seem convincing units. The lighter one could be the equivalent in silver of two mancuses of thirty 1.30g pence each, but otherwise they do not fit either the silver or gold mancuse-weight systems.²⁹ It is therefore likely that the Kingston weights are Viking objects produced for use within the Viking weight-system as weights for three and four ore (half a mark), as has been suggested by the other evidence already discussed.

²⁴ S.E. Kruse 1988, as in n. 21, p. 294. Based on her data, Dr Kruse examined units of 25, 25.5 and 26g. She concluded 'Although the unit of 26g with a standard deviation (s.d.) of c. 2gm seemed to fit the material best, there was little to choose between the three basic units'. The frequency table of her material, Fig. 3 on p. 293, shows only a minor peak just above one hundred grammes, but the ingots from the Rantum and Witzworth (Schleswig Holstein) hoards, Fig. 1 p. 289, show distinct clustering around fifty and one hundred grammes. Rantum has a coin-dated *t.p.q.* of 864 and Witzworth (without coins) is dated to the mid-ninth to mid-tenth centuries.

²⁵ Lyon 1969, as in n. 19, pp. 209 and 214.

²⁶ 'The treaty between Alfred and Guthrum' (translation),

2, S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, Penguin Books 1983, p. 171; Lyon 1969, as in n. 19, p. 210.

²⁷ Lyon 1969, as in n. 19, p. 210; Nightingale 1984, as in n. 19, p. 235.

²⁸ For example in the Laws of Alfred, D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, c. 500–1042, 2nd edn, *English Historical Documents* I, London 1979, no.33, pp. 372–80.

²⁹ The precise weight of the mancuse as a weight-unit for weighing bullion is open to question. See Lyon 1969, as in n. 19, p. 207–9, and the table on p. 219 where he suggests that the number of ideal mancuse units to an ounce is '6%?'; Nightingale 1984, as in n. 19, p. 235 argues that the mancuse was the equivalent of the full Byzantine *nomisma* at c. 4.5g.

Location and historical context

Modern Kingston lies on the highest part of the Isle of Purbeck about five-and-a-half miles south-east of Wareham (see map, Fig. 1). The name Kingston is not recorded in this part of Dorset before the Norman Conquest. It first appears in Domesday Book as that of a large manor situated south of Wareham held before and after 1066 by the nunnery of Shaftesbury.³⁰ Although there is no record of the grant to the nunnery, Anglo-Saxon royal benefaction at some stage is supported by the fact that Kingston was an extensive and valuable manor, characteristics often indicative of royal ownership from early Saxon times. There was almost certainly a royal residence there but its location is unknown. It may be significant that Edward the Martyr was murdered in 978 'æt Corfes geate', a natural defile at the entrance to modern Corfe, as he was on his way to visit his step-mother and step-brother.³¹ Modern Kingston lies about two miles south of Corfe which is situated in the same manor. In the light of these uncertainties and possible associations, it is all the more unfortunate that it has not been possible to establish the findspot of the weights more precisely.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that in 875 (corrected) the Viking army came from Cambridge into Wareham and that Alfred made a treaty with them (in 876) under which they agreed to leave his kingdom, although in fact they went to Exeter, still in Wessex.³² In translating this passage the chronicler Æthelweard expands on his original, recording that the greater part of the province was ravaged by the invaders and that, as part of the agreement, the king 'paid them money at the same time'.³³ The English sources do not go into detail about how money paid to the Vikings at this period was actually handed over, but the contemporary *Annals of St-Bertin* record that in 860 the Danes required that a proposed sum should be 'weighed out under careful inspection', and that in 866 Charles the Bald paid four thousand pounds of silver to the Northmen 'according to their scales'.³⁴ The Vikings raiding in England are also likely to have carried their own weighing equipment. High-denomination weights were no doubt used for receiving bulk payments but lower weights of their own system, such as those found near Kingston, would have been required for smaller transactions. These would have included weighing out what was due to each man, a scene similar to that illustrated in the ninth-century Utrecht Psalter.³⁵

The evidence is thus strong that the Viking weights found at Kingston are to be associated with the period of the raiders' activity in the area in 875–6. As recently as 1995 it was remarked that 'Direct evidence for Viking presence in ninth-century Wessex is slight'.³⁶ There can be little better than the Kingston weights.

³⁰ *Domesday Book*, Phillimore edition, general editor, J. Morris; *Dorset*, edited by C. and F. Thorn, Chichester 1983, Section 19 para 10. For the topography and history of Wareham and Kingston see Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Dorset*, ii *South-east Dorset*, 1972; L. Keen, 'The towns of Dorset' in J. Haslam (editor), *Anglo-Saxon Towns*, Chichester 1984, pp. 203–47, particularly at p. 213 where it is suggested that the church seen in ruins and attributed to St Aldhelm by William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century may have been at Kingston.

³¹ M. Swanton, translator and editor, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, London 1996, pp. 122 and 123.

³² M. Swanton 1996, as in n. 29, pp. 74 and 75; Whitecock 1979, as in n. 26, pp. 839–42.

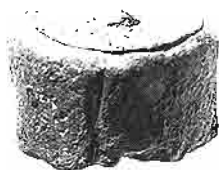
³³ A. Campbell, translator and editor, *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, London 1962, p. 41. Æthelweard also says that the Viking army 'encamped in the same position as the West-Saxon army, a thing which they had not previously done, near the town of Wareham'. The editor notes that the text is corrupt at this

point and says (Introduction p. xxvi) that it does not here supply any additional information, but is just a mistranslation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* source. The raiders' choice of bases at this time also points to their being actually inside Wareham, but the ASC text itself implies that Alfred and his army were not far away. Where he was based and where the negotiations took place are not known. Raiding in the surrounding district from each base and extracting money to go away were regular Viking practice so, even if these additions merely echo other entries, it may be accepted that both took place.

³⁴ J.L. Nelson, translator and editor, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, Manchester, 1991, pp. 92 and 130.

³⁵ The scene in Eadwine's Psalter (a mid-twelfth-century English copy in Trinity College, Cambridge, of the original document made in Reims c. 820), illustrated in J. Williams (editor), *Money, a History*, British Museum, London 1997, p. 67, pl. 94f, shows money being weighed out with a balance for waiting soldiers.

³⁶ B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in the early History of Britain*, Leicester 1995, p. 113.



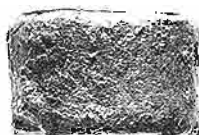
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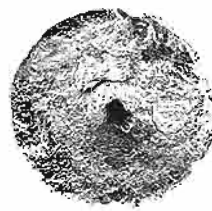
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ARCHIBALD: VIKING WEIGHTS

DIE-CUTTING STYLES IN THE *LAST SMALL CROSS* ISSUE OF c. 1009–1017 AND SOME PROBLEMATIC EAST ANGLIAN DIES AND DIE-LINKS

STEWART LYON

1. *Last Small Cross* die-cutting styles

IN a pioneering study of regional die-cutting, published in Sweden in 1958, the late Michael Dolley described in outline the principal styles of portraiture he had identified among the *Last Small Cross* coins in the Systematic Collection in the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm and discussed their geographical significance.¹ As his paper made clear, he recognized that the pattern would be refined when epigraphy was also taken into account and he expressed the hope that he and I would publish later a full discussion. With that in mind I participated in a working visit with Dolley and Gay van der Meer in 1962 and took photographs and weighings to show how the styles could be subdivided and their relative chronology determined. Although various publications have described the results in outline² a more detailed classification has not so far been published, except for Lincoln and York by Mark Blackburn, who has also recorded a right-facing variety in East Anglia.³ However, because the subdivided styles are important for an understanding of the arguments later in this paper, the opportunity is being taken of describing and illustrating them here. There is still a need for a full study along the lines of that published a few years ago on Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type;⁴ it will require *inter alia* a fresh examination of the *Last Small Cross* coins in the Systematic Collection in Stockholm and the later Swedish hoards.

In outline, at the inception of the issue coins were minted at heavy weight standards in the range 1.60–1.75g. (24.7–27.0 Troy grains), the higher part of the range being typical of moneyers in Wessex and West Mercia but those in Kent, London and the Danelaw tending to make more use of the lower part. Three schools of engravers seem to have been primarily responsible for the initial supply of dies to moneyers outside Northumbria. One, which can confidently be identified with Winchester, sent dies ('Winchester A') to Worcester, Warwick and Oxford in the west midlands, towns in Sussex and Kent in the south-east, Bedford, Northampton, Norwich, Thetford, Huntingdon, Stamford, Lincoln and Derby in the Danelaw, as well as to towns in Dorset, Somerset, Hampshire and Wiltshire. A second, responsible for Devon and presumably located in Exeter, also shared in the initial distribution to moneyers in Somerset (other than Bath), Dorset and Wiltshire, as well as Wallingford, Warwick and several towns in the Danelaw, including Cambridge, Huntingdon, Leicester, Thetford and Ipswich

¹ R.H.M. Dolley, 'Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type A of Æthelred II', *Antikvariskt arkiv* 9 (1958), 1–41.

² See for example Pauline Stafford, 'Historical Implications of the Regional Production of Dies under Æthelred II', *BNJ* 48 (1978), 35–51, and Mark Blackburn and Stewart Lyon, 'Regional die-production in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* issue', *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, edited by M.A.S. Blackburn (Leicester 1986), 223–72 at pp. 224–5.

³ Mark Blackburn, 'Do Cnut the Great's first coins as king

of Denmark date from before 1018?', *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia Repertis. Nova Series 6: Sigtuna Papers*, edited by Kenneth Jonsson and Brita Malmér (Stockholm and London 1990), 55–68, at pp. 61–65; and 'An East Anglian Variety of Æthelred II's *Last Small Cross* Type', *Studia Numismatica: Festschrift Arkadij Mal'vagin 65*, edited by J. Leimus (Tallinn 1995), 23–26.

⁴ Blackburn and Lyon, 'Regional die-production' as in n. 2.

('Exeter A', with a second portrait engraver at work, 'B' – the cruder – mostly limited to Devon and Dorset.) The third ('Gloucester') school, primarily responsible for the West Mercian towns from Bristol to Chester (including Shrewsbury, Stafford and Tamworth but apparently excluding Worcester and Warwick), shared in the distribution to moneyers in Bath, Cricklade, Oxford and Wallingford and suprisingly supplied some in London, and perhaps also Colchester, with their first dies. York cut its own dies, and at this stage seems not to have supplied other towns nor received dies from elsewhere, except that one pair of dies by the engraver for Winchester was cut for an otherwise unknown moneyer Edwine.⁵

Very soon there were engravers at work in London and Lincoln, and presently also in Canterbury and at a centre in Norfolk (Norwich or Thetford). They cut dies for moneyers in other accessible towns as required, as now also did the engraver in York; but of the original three southern schools only Winchester seems to have continued to send dies outside its own region, and then only rarely.⁶ An engraver at Ipswich who also supplied some dies to Colchester distinguished himself by having difficulty with the spelling of the inscriptions. To complicate the pattern still further, there are instances of moneyers using dies of unexpected styles where the explanation appears to be the presence of the moneyer in the engraver's district, not the latter sending dies to the named but distant town with which the moneyer was usually associated.⁷

The weight standard fell by about twenty per cent quite early in the issue and then in stages until, as we shall see, by the time the type was replaced pence were being minted in towns such as London and Lincoln at sixty per cent of the original standard or even less.

Descriptions of the main styles and sub-styles and their correspondence with Dolley's original terminology are as follows:

Proposed name Identifying features
(and relevant Dolley styles)

(Enlarged by 1½)

Winchester A
(*Southern B*)
(Pl. 2, 1-2)

Hair short, straight and beaded; eye pellet not enclosed; ethnic usually ANGLO or ANGL-; king's first and sixth letters Æ; capped or uncapped A; untidy lettering; 3 or 4 curved lines of drapery behind single inverted V, often unjoined at apex. Copulative ON.



Winchester B
(*Southern B*)
(Pl. 2, 3-4)

A small group, similar to (but later than) Winchester A except that the hair is rounded and the ethnic is ANGL, ANG or AN. Copulative ON.



Winchester C
(*Southern A*)
(Pl. 2, 5-7)

Hair very short and on both sides of curved diadem with enclosed eye at its front,

⁵ SCBI Copenhagen II, 240, Winchester A style.

⁶ For example, dies of Winchester B style were supplied to the Leicester moneyer Æthelwig (SCBI Copenhagen II, 508).

⁷ Stewart Lyon, Presidential Address: 'Historical Problems of Anglo-Saxon Coinage – (4) The Viking Age', *BNJ* 39 (1970), 193-204, at pp. 202-3.

giving fishbone effect; ethnic usually ANGLO or ANGL; king's first and sixth letters Æ; capped A; 3 or 4 curved lines of drapery behind double inverted V.

Copulative ON.



Exeter A e
(Southwestern)
(Pl. 2, 8–9)

Tall bust, cropped rounded hair; eye pellet sometimes with curve below; ethnic variable; king's first and sixth letters Æ; mostly uncapped A; 3 or 4 curved lines of drapery behind single inverted V.

Copulative ON.



Exeter A l
(Southwestern)
(Pl. 2, 10)

Larger head, bust fills field; otherwise similar to Exeter Ae.

Copulative ON.



Exeter B e l
(Southwestern)
(Pl. 2, 11–13)

Cropped hair, long nose, low mouth, hunchback shoulder; diadem often follows the curve of the head; lettering and drapery similar to Exeter.

Copulative ON.



e





l

Gloucester e l
(Western)
(Pl. 2, 14–16)

Hair short and straight, sometimes curly, usually with a curl on the forehead as in the corresponding *Quatrefoil* style; eye pellet enclosed; some dies have a large inner circle, large bust and ethnic ANGLO; others have a smaller inner circle and bust with ethnic A, AN or ANG, the latest on a smaller flan; large letters,



e

	king's first letter Æ, sixth E; capped and usually barred A; up to 5 straight lines of drapery behind single inverted V. Copulative ON, rarely MON.		
London A (<i>Southeastern</i>) (Pl. 2, 17)	Curly hair; eye pellet enclosed by curve; ethnic usually ANGLO; king's first and sixth letters usually Æ; large lettering, tail before R, capped A; 3 or 4 curved lines of drapery behind inverted V, usually double. Copulative usually includes both M and N.		
London B (<i>Eastern, or local variant</i>) (Pl. 2, 18–19)	Straight or slightly rounded hair, often light beading; eye pellet enclosed; ethnic usually ANGLO, ANGL or ANG; king's first and sixth letters variable; lettering as London A; 2, 3 or 4 curved lines of drapery behind inverted V, usually single. Copulative usually includes both M and N.		
London C (<i>London</i>) (Pl. 2, 20)	Large pointed nose, rounded beaded hair; eye enclosed; ethnic usually ANGLO; king's first and sixth letters Æ; lettering more compact than London A and B, capped A but no tail before R; 3 or 4 lines of curved drapery behind inverted V, occasionally double. Copulative usually includes M, sometimes with N.		
London D e m l (<i>London</i>) (Pl. 2, 21–23)	Rounded beaded hair; eye enclosed; ethnic reduces as flan size and weight diminish (longest ANGLOR); king's first and sixth letters variable; lettering as London A and B with capped A and tail before R until flan becomes small with compact lettering; 3 or 4 curved lines of drapery behind inverted V, double on early dies. Copulative usually includes both M and N.		
			

Canterbury A, Aa
(*Southeastern*)
(Pl. 2, 24–25)

Curly hair, head smaller than London A; eye enclosed; no tail before R; A sometimes uncapped; 4 lines of curved drapery behind inverted V, usually double. Early dies have larger right-facing bust (Hildebrand type Aa). Copulative usually includes both M and N.



Rochester
(*Southeastern*)
(Pl. 2, 26)

One pair of dies appears to have been locally engraved. The portrait is almost artistic and the lettering larger than at Canterbury. Copulative M·ON.



York e 1
(*Northern A*)
(Pl. 3, 1–5)

Straight unbeaded hair, moulded cheek, widely spaced lips producing vacuous expression, eye pellet not enclosed; early dies have head leaning slightly forward, later ones have head upright; ethnic seldom less than ANGLO; king's first and sixth letters E; usually uncapped A; usually 4 lines of curved drapery behind single inverted V. Copulative includes M but no N.



Lincoln A
(*Southern B*)
(Pl. 3, 6)

High bust, fine hair; eye pellet enclosed; ethnic ANGLOR X to ANGL; first letter of king's name Æ, sixth E; capped A; 4 or 5 curved lines of drapery behind inverted V (sometimes double). The copulative on true reverses is ON, so the dies may have been engraved at Winchester in parallel with the engraving of Winchester A (compare Elmore Jones 931).



Lincoln B
(*Northern B*)
(Pl. 3, 7)

Low rather crude bust, straight beaded hair; eye pellet enclosed; ethnic ANGLO to ANG; king's first letter Æ, sixth E or Æ; uncapped A; 3 lines of



curved drapery behind
single inverted v.
Copulative includes M, but
usually no N.

Lincoln C e m l
(*Northern A*)
(Pl. 3, 8–14)

Larger higher bust, copying
York; straight unbeaded
hair; cheek often strongly
delineated; early dies have
eye pellet lightly enclosed,
middle and late unenclosed;
diadem on middle dies not
attached to forehead; ethnic
ANGLOR to ANGL on early dies,
ANGLO to ANG later; king's
first letter usually Æ,
but E on some late dies;
lettering as Lincoln B; 3 or
4 lines of drapery, straight or
gently curved, behind single
inverted v (early dies
have two parallel lines
instead of v).
Copulative includes M but
no N.



e



m



l



i



ii



iii

Norfolk A, Aa
(*Eastern*)
(Pl. 3, 15–18)

Straight unbeaded hair, tall
bust, thinner than Lincoln C
style; curved diadem; eye
pellet unenclosed;
king's name usually EDELRED;
small stubby lettering,
NG often ligated, sometimes
a tail before R, uncapped A.
Usually 4 curved lines of
drapery behind single
inverted v; sometimes double
line at the back.
Main varieties – Aa: early
dies with right-facing bust
(Hildebrand Type Aa).
Ai: the head is upright or
leans slightly forward.
Aii: the head is tilted
backwards.
Aiii: small flan, small
inner circle both sides,
small bust, lettering larger
than i and ii.
Copulative M·O on most Aa;
otherwise ON.

Norfolk B e l
(*London, or
local variant*)
(Pl. 3, 19–21)

Rounded head, often forward
in field; eye pellet not
enclosed; king's name and
late lettering as Norfolk
Ai and ii but earlier
lettering larger; usually
4 lines of curved drapery
behind single inverted V
(5 lines on early dies).
Copulative ON.



e



l

Ipswich A, B, D
(*A, B = Eastern,
D = London*)
(Pl. 3, 25–27)

Copies London A, B, D but
legends partly blundered
and obverse legend seldom
starts at 12 o'clock.
Letter X depicted as +.
Copulative ON, NO.



A



D

PUBLISHED SOURCES OF COINS ILLUSTRATED ON PLATES 2 AND 3

Plate 2

1. SCBI West Country 577. Bath, Ægelric. 1.71 g.
2. Elmore Jones (1971) 158. Canterbury, Leofnoth. 1.68 g.
3. SCBI West Country 579. Bath, Æthestan. 1.35 g.
4. Elmore Jones 934. Winchester, Siboda. 1.33 g.
5. SCBI Glasgow 887. Winchester, Ælfeah. 1.46 g.
6. Doubleday (1987) 566. Winchester, Cynna. 1.23 g.
7. SCBI Glasgow 884. Salisbury, Sæman. 1.41 g.
8. Brettell (1970) 121. Exeter, Wulfsgie. 1.71 g.
9. Doubleday 536. Wallingford, Leofstan. 1.61 g.
10. Elmore Jones 552. Lydford, Goda. 1.25 g.
11. Brettell (1970) 10. Exeter, Ælfnoth. 1.69 g.
12. Brettell (1990) 492. Totnes, Goda. 1.74 g.
13. Brettell (1970) 78. Exeter, Isegod. 1.02 g.
14. Lockett (1958) 2763a. Oxford, Alfwold. wnr. (*Another SCBI Oxford 627, weighs 1.66 g.*)
15. Lockett (1958) 2762c. Gloucester, Godwine. wnr. (*Another, SCBI Oxford 620 from the same obv. die, weighs 1.56 g.*)
16. Elmore Jones 597. Northampton, Leofwold. 1.12 g.
17. (BEH 2602 bis). London, Godwine. 1.66 g.

18. *BEH* 2569. London, Godric. 1.74 g.
19. *BEH* 2739. London, Leofwine. 1.09 g.
20. Elmore Jones 496. London, Wulfwine. 1.31 g.
21. *BEH* 2157. London, Æthelwerd. 1.64 g.
22. Doubleday 452. Southwark, Ælfwine. 1.22 g.
23. Doubleday 247. London, Elenod. 1.04 g.
24. Norweb (1987) 1228 (= *SCBI American* 486). Canterbury, Leofstan. 1.15 g.
25. Elmore Jones 157. Canterbury, Leofnoth. 1.45 g.
26. Lockett (1955) 652c. Rochester, Ælfheh. wnr. (Two duplicates, *SCBI Glasgow* 883 and *SCBI Copenhagen II* 1052, weigh 1.31 and 1.28 g. respectively.)

Plate 3

1. *SCBI Copenhagen II*, 324. York, Wulfsige. 1.51 g.
2. *SCBI Copenhagen II*, 310. York, Thorstan. 1.61 g.
3. Doubleday 590. York, Hildolf. 1.18 g.
4. *SCBI Copenhagen II*, 564. Lincoln, Osferth. 1.40 g.
5. Doubleday 384. Norwich, Hwateman. 1.26 g.
6. *SCBI Glasgow* 880. Lincoln, Wulfric. 1.60 g.
7. *SCBI Oxford* 622. Lincoln, Wulfgrim. 1.59 g.
8. *SCBI Lincolnshire* 1227. Stamford, Swertgar. 1.14 g.
9. *SCBI Glasgow* 885. Shrewsbury, Ælfstan. 1.30 g.
10. *SCBI Copenhagen II*, 554. Lincoln, Godwine. 1.50 g.
11. *BEH* 1777. Lincoln, Godwine. Rev. as last. 1.37 g.
12. Elmore Jones 596. Northampton, Leofwold. 1.22 g.
13. *SCBI Lincolnshire* 294. Lincoln, Sumerleth. 1.34 g.
14. *SCBI Lincolnshire* 263. Lincoln, Leofwine. 1.16 g.
15. *SCBI Copenhagen II*, 1214. Thetford, Fastuf. 1.40 g.
16. Doubleday 382. Norwich, Eadwacer. 1.26 g.
17. Doubleday 490. Thetford, Sumerled. 1.24 g.
18. *SCBI Copenhagen II*, 382. Cambridge, Leofsig. 1.11 g.
19. Doubleday 389. Norwich, Wufmr (= Wulfmær). 1.31 g.
20. Doubleday 491. Thetford, Walgist. 1.37 g.
21. Elmore Jones 823. Thetford, Elfwine. 1.33 g.
22. Doubleday 197. Ipswich, Siwold. 1.11 g.
23. *SCBI Glasgow* 878. Ipswich, Leofsig. 1.32 g.
24. (Lyon). Ipswich, Lyfinc. 1.75 g.
25. Elmore Jones 401. Ipswich, Leofsig. 1.24 g.
26. Elmore Jones 208. Colchester, Edwine. 1.36 g.
27. Norweb (1985) 69 (= *SCBI American* 485). Thetford, Wufnod (= Wulfnoth). 1.27 g.

2. Hildebrand type Ae of Æthelred II's London mint revisited

In the early 1960s I published the only four specimens known to me of Hildebrand Type Ae of Æthelred II – a variety of the *Last Small Cross* type in which the bust, which is normally contained within an inner circle, breaks the circle and extends to the edge of the coin.⁸ A few years later a fifth specimen was reported by Elmore Jones.⁹ All five were by different London moneyers, named as Eadwold, Godric, Leofwine, Liofstan and Sæwine,¹⁰ and the style is a variant of late London D:

- | | | |
|----|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>Obv.</i> | +ÆDELRAE/D REX A1 |
| | <i>Rev.</i> | +EADFOLD MO LVNDE |
| | | <i>BEH</i> 2421. 1.06 g. (Pl. 4, 3) |

⁸ C.S.S. Lyon, 'Two Notes on the "Last Small Cross" type of Æthelred II – I. A Late Variety from the London Mint', *BNJ* 31 (1962), 49–51.

⁹ Exhibited by F. Elmore Jones at the November 1966

meeting of the British Numismatic Society (*BNJ* 36 (1967), 211–2 and Pl. 1, 20).

¹⁰ For numismatic clarity, moneyers' names in the text are spelt as on the relevant coins (unless blundered) and are not normalized.

2. *Obv.* +ÆDELRAE/D REX A
Rev. +GODRIC MO LVNDE
 BEH 2577. 1.06 g. (Pl. 4, 5)
3. *Obv.* +ÆDELRAED/REX AN
Rev. +LEOFINE ON LVNDE
 BEH 2743. 1.08 g. (Pl. 4, 6)
4. *Obv.* +ÆDELRE/DREX A
Rev. +LIOFSTAN MO LVNDE
 L. R. Stack (1999) 532 ex Elmore Jones (1971) 497 ex Grantley (1944) 1120b.
 0.86 g. (Pl. 4, 7)
5. *Obv.* +ÆDELRA/D REX A
Rev. +SÆPINE MON LVND
 Lyon bt Baldwin 1958 ex Ryan (1952) 827 ex Drabble (1939) 453. 0.90 g. (Pl. 4, 8)

Two further specimens have recently been illustrated, though without specific identification, in the Appendix to Professor Brita Malmer's Anglo-Scandinavian corpus.¹¹ One is by a sixth London moneyer, named as Brihtwold but misspelt, while the other, a large fragment on which the moneyer's name is missing, is a die-duplicate of the Godric coin, no. 2 above:-

6. *Obv.* +ÆDELRA/ED REX
Rev. +BRNITPOLD NO LV
 Gärestad, Edestad, Blekinge (SHM Inv 8503). 1.03 g. Malmer 2526. (Pl. 4, 2)
7. *Obv.* + /D REX A
 Dies as 2.
Rev. + MO LVNDE
 Slethei, Rogaland, Norway (Skaare (1976) no 82). 0.61 g. (large fragment). Malmer 2531.

An eighth has recently come to light, quite possibly from an English find. It has a dark brown patina and is unpecked:-

8. *Obv.* +ÆDELRED REX A (double inverted V at front of drapery)
Rev. +ÆDELRIC ON LVND
 Lyon. bt Baldwin 1998. 1.13 g. (Pl. 4, 1)

and Professor Jonsson has recorded a ninth, a duplicate of no. 1, in the Djuped hoard (SHM Inv. 16295), 1.12g. (Pl. 4, 4).

There is no doubt that the coins of this variety are English, not Scandinavian. Six of the seven moneyers are also recorded for London using ordinary obverse dies of the *Last Small Cross* type. Sæwine, however, is not otherwise known at London except for the *Pointed Helmet* type of Cnut.¹² He may perhaps be the same person as the Sæwine who is recorded

¹¹ Professor Malmer's magisterial corpus, *The Anglo-Scandinavian Coinage c. 995–1020 (Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Saecula Repertis: Nova Series 9)*, Stockholm (1997), hereinafter referred to as Malmer, is primarily concerned with literate and barbarous Scandinavian imitations of English coin types of that period, and coins struck in Scandinavia from dies one or both of which were exported from England. Her book is now an essential work of reference for all serious students of the Anglo-Saxon coinage of Æthelred II and Cnut.

It is not always easy to tell whether a literate coin of good style and appropriate weight was struck in England or Scandinavia. Over the last forty years papers written from an Anglo-Saxon perspective, and notes in *SCBI* fascicules, have attributed to Scandinavia a substantial number of coins

ostensibly minted in English towns. Some of the dies had evidently been exported from England, while others were imitations close enough to their prototypes to have deceived scholars of the calibre of Hildebrand and Galster at a time when research into die-cutting styles had yet to be undertaken. Even quite recently a group of die-duplicates of Cnut's *Short Cross* type from a Danish hoard, which seem to the present writer to be very good local copies, were published as official products of the London mint (see a review in *BNJ* 66 (1996), 181–3). But deception can work in both directions, and it is no criticism of Professor Malmer that in the course of this paper a few of the *Last Small Cross* coins which she has included in her corpus will be claimed back for England.

¹² *SCBI* Copenhagen IIIB, 2899.

with a Huntingdon signature in *Æthelred Helmet* and *Last Small Cross* and also *Quatrefoil* of Cnut, and who in *Last Small Cross* is involved in an obverse die-link with moneyers of Sudbury and London.¹³

The light weight of the extant specimens of Type Ae points to a date close to the end of the *Last Small Cross* issue, and it was suggested in the original publication that it might have been an experimental design for a new obverse type. Certainly there was experimentation with the arrangement of the obverse inscription, no. 8 (the heaviest) being the only one on which it is not interrupted by the bust. However, a stronger case for a search for a new type can be made for the unique but badly broken penny in Bergen by the London moneyer Ealdred on which the diademed hair is replaced by a pointed helmet, foreshadowing, as it happened, not Cnut's first issue but his second.¹⁴ (Pl. 4, 9)

3. Pointers to late die-cutting at Lincoln

Type Ae is just one instance of light minting at London towards the end of *Last Small Cross*. Of 844 London pence whose weights were recorded by Bertil Petersson as many as 234, or 28%, were lighter than 1.15 g. At Norwich the proportion was 24%, at Stamford 32%, at Lincoln 16% and even at Winchester it was 8½%, but at York only 1½%.¹⁵

There are three possible explanations for the small proportions of coins of light weight at Winchester and York. The Winchester and York moneyers may have been virtually inactive during the final phase of the issue or, if active, were striking significantly heavier on average than those in the other towns. Alternatively, they may have been minting to a closer tolerance than those of London, Norwich, Stamford and Lincoln, so giving rise to a longer tail at those towns in the distribution of the coins by weight. For Lincoln we can test the last proposition by examining the weights in Mossop of coins struck from a group of reverse dies with a common characteristic (reverses rather than obverses because they wore out more quickly and therefore generally occupied a shorter time span).¹⁷

The York and Lincoln workshops cut dies of very similar styles that used to be grouped together as 'Northern A'. It has been recognised for some time that the York engraver always began the king's name with E, whereas his Lincoln counterpart usually preferred Æ. Other differences of obverse detail are summarised and illustrated above.¹⁸ Reverses have not hitherto been studied. However, one occasional feature, namely the insertion of one or more letters in the reverse field at Lincoln, is quite illuminating.

Field letters (as distinct from symbols such as crosses or pellets) are found on eighteen Mossop reverse dies, from which twenty-one specimens are listed with weights as follows:

Æthelmær a, b	E	1.11, 1.03, 1.14 g. (edge chipped: Pl. 4, 10)
Æthelnoth u	E and C	0.90 g.
Eadmund a	E, o	1.12 g. (pierced)
Iustan b, e	E	0.96, 0.97 g.

¹³ See below, p. 39.

¹⁴ C.S.S. Lyon, G. van der Meer, and R.H.M. Dolley, 'Some Scandinavian Coins in the Names of Æthelræd, Cnut and Harthacnut attributed by Hildebrand to English Mints', *BNJ* 30 (2) (1961), 235–51 (hereinafter referred to as LvdMD) at p. 237; also Lyon, 'Historical Problems', *BNJ* 39 (1970) at p. 201 and Pl. IX, 9.

¹⁵ H. Bertil A. Petersson, 'Coins and Weights: Late Anglo-Saxon Pennies and Mints, c. 973–1066', *Studies in late Anglo-Saxon Coinage in memory of Bror Emil Hildebrand*, edited by K. Jonsson (*Numismatiska Meddelanden XXXV*, Stockholm 1990; referred to hereinafter as *SLAC*), 207–433,

in Tables 55, 56, 69, 87, 105 and 107.

¹⁶ In H.R. Mossop, *The Lincoln Mint c. 890–1279* (Newcastle upon Tyne 1970), Table 5, 100 of 528 Lincoln weights tabulated (19%) are below 1.15 g. I have preferred to use Table 55 of Petersson, partly for consistency and partly because Mossop did not always indicate in the text when a coin was defective so that it could be excluded from the relevant distribution.

¹⁷ Mossop, as in n. 16 (referred to hereinafter as Mossop). In what follows, care has been taken to identify damaged specimens.

¹⁸ p. 25–6.

Iustan f	V	0.73 g. (fragment)
Leofric a	V	1.06 g.
Leofwine c	E	1.15, 1.06, 0.99 g.
Osferth k	V	1.00 g.
Othbern c, l	C	0.60 (cut ½d), 1.00 g. (twice holed)
Ræienold g	C	1.21 g. (Pl. 4, 12)
Sumerleth g, q, r, s	V	1.15, 1.02, 1.07, 1.00 g. (Pl. 4, II)
Wulfgrim g	E	1.00 g.

Without exception, these dies use a copulative in the form M-O, the letters separated by a pellet above a dash. This appears to be a late development, for it is found on few Lincoln coins weighing more than 1.25 g. The alternative M^oO overlaps with it to some extent but has a principal range from 1.20 to 1.49 g.; sometimes there is a pellet *below* the dash or an annulet above it, thus M^oO. (The copulatives ON and MO (without a dash) are usually associated with higher weights, though some dies continued in use into the middle range.) At York, on the other hand, the engraver seems to have used the forms M^o-O and M-O indiscriminately.

Mossop records sixty-five Lincoln reverse dies with the copulative M-O. Five of these are of the moneyer Lefinc and can be disregarded, because for some reason this moneyer obtained five of his six known obverse dies from York; all his reverse dies with copulative M-O are found combined with those obverses and presumably also came from York, where it has no obvious chronological significance.

The weight distribution of the coins listed by Mossop for the remaining sixty Lincoln reverses is shown in Table 1. Almost all the associated obverses are of late Lincoln C style, though several use E instead of Æ for the first letter of the king's name. One obverse (Osfram A) is of York style and accounts for two of the heaviest coins without field letters. Another (Leofric C) is of late London D style; the only coin recorded by Mossop has a Lincoln-style reverse and is the lightest in the table at 0.88 g. Damaged coins have been identified where possible and indicated or shown separately.

TABLE 1. Lincoln coins with copulative M-O

Weight (g.)	No letter in field	Letter(s) in field
1.25–1.29	5	–
1.20–1.24	6	1
1.15–1.19	13	2
1.10–1.14	14	3*
1.05–1.09	6	3
1.00–1.04	3	5
0.95–0.99	2	3
0.90–0.94	2	1
0.85–0.89	1	–
	52	18
Damaged	7	3
Total	59	21

* includes one chipped and one pierced

Although the numbers are small, not least because die survival from the end of the issue is relatively low, it does appear that letters were inserted in the field of reverse dies at a very late stage and that while these dies were in use the weight standard was deliberately allowed to fall

below the minimum of c. 1.15 g. suggested by Blackburn¹⁹ to something closer to 1.00–1.05 g., comparable with Type Ae at London.²⁰ It is therefore unlikely that the explanation for lighter minting at Lincoln than at York lies in weaker control over tolerance.

More probably, York and Lincoln may have been using different weight standards at the same time. That such a thing was happening elsewhere in *Last Small Cross* is suggested by the weights of coins struck respectively at Lincoln and Stamford from early obverses of Lincoln C style, which have a tall thin bust, an enclosed eye, and nearly parallel lines at the front of the drapery. At Lincoln, twenty of twenty-two undamaged coins of that style recorded by Blackburn weigh 1.30 g. or more,²¹ but only three of twelve such coins of Stamford in two important *SCBI* fascicules do so and five others are lighter than 1.20 g.²² In the face of evidence of this kind, which has a strong parallel in other issues,²³ it would be unsafe to conclude that the York mint must have been inactive at the end of the *Last Small Cross* issue. We will return to this question in part 5.

4. East Anglian die-cutting styles

At the outset of *Last Small Cross*, moneyers in East Anglia were supplied with dies from major centres outside the region. Dies of Winchester A style reached Norwich and Thetford while Thetford also received Exeter A, as did Cambridge. Huntingdon had dies of both styles. On the other hand the earliest used at Ipswich seem to have been London A. Later, as we shall see, some moneyers obtained dies from Lincoln, but dies of styles associated with London were also sent to East Anglia, particularly London C which is found at Cambridge, Sudbury and Thetford.

Early in the issue a heavy right-facing variety (Hildebrand Type Aa) was struck at Thetford and Cambridge from dies probably made at Thetford.²⁴ (It has been called Norfolk Aa in the stylistic descriptions above.) In the middle and late periods two styles designated Norfolk A and B respectively copy the London B (or Lincoln C) and London D styles and could have been engraved at either Thetford or Norwich. Most of the dies of these styles were used by moneyers of Norwich, Thetford, Sudbury, Ipswich, Cambridge and Huntingdon. Except on early dies of Norfolk B the lettering is distinctively stubby and NG is frequently ligated. At Norwich, in most cases the second letter of ON and the first letter of the mint are telescoped into a single N.

Ipswich cut its own copies of London A, B and D. These local styles are distinguished from those in Norfolk by larger lettering, a tendency to mis-spell, and the substitution of an upright cross for the X in REX.²⁵

¹⁹ Blackburn, 'Cnut the Great', as in n. 3, pp. 65–66.

²⁰ The Lincoln engraver also cut a pair of dies for a moneyer Leofnoth of London, with the copulative M+O and an E in the reverse field (*BEH* 2668, 1.30 g., and a die-duplicate in my own collection, 1.28 g.). In this case the obverse die found its way to Scandinavia, where it was coupled with a blundered *Small Cross* reverse and with a *Long Cross* reverse, ostensibly of Canterbury, that was also combined with an imitative *Long Cross* obverse (Lyon, van der Meer, and Dolley, as in n. 14, Pl. XIII, Chain M, and now Malmer Chain 124). We therefore cannot be certain that the coins of the true combination were struck in England, and it would not be safe to argue from their heavier weights that the dies are any earlier than those issued to Lincoln moneyers.

²¹ Blackburn, 'Cnut the Great', as in n. 3, p. 64, Table 1.

²² *SCBI* Copenhagen II, 1115, 1128, 1140, 1146–7; *SCBI* Lincolnshire, 1205–6, 1215–6, 1225–7.

²³ For Quatrefoil of Cnut see C.S.S. Lyon, 'Variations in Currency in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Mints, Dies and Currency: Essays in Memory of Albert Baldwin*, edited by R. A.G. Carson (London 1971), 101–20, at p. 110 and Table 3. For an earlier type, see Kenneth Jonsson, 'An Example of Regional Weight Variation in the Coinage of Æthelred II: The Intermediate Small Cross/Crux Mules and the Transitional Crux Variety', *NC* (1977), 177–80.

²⁴ Blackburn, 'East Anglian Variety' as in note 3.

²⁵ Malmer includes two Ipswich die combinations based on a single reverse die of the moneyer Ode (nos. 623, 1725, two examples, and 953, 1725, one example). The weights of the three listed coins, which include *BEH* 1089 and 1090, range from 1.32 to 1.22 g., and another specimen of the first combination in my own collection weighs 1.26 g., a consistency which would not be expected if the coins had been struck in Scandinavia. These coins can confidently be regarded as English.

5. A Lincoln origin for a 'Cnut rex Anglor' die apparently used at Norwich

Nearly forty years ago Gay van der Meer, Michael Dolley and I discussed and illustrated a number of coins naming Cnut as king of the English but modelled on Æthelred II's *Long Cross* and *Last Small Cross* types.²⁶ We rejected the seemingly English minting indicated by literate reverse inscriptions, and drew attention to chains of die-links which were inconceivable in an English context. Brita Malmer's Anglo-Scandinavian corpus reinforces our reattribution of those coins to Scandinavia by showing how most of them fit into more extensive chains which include obvious imitations of crude style and with totally blundered inscriptions.

Included in our paper was a *Last Small Cross* penny in Cnut's name, the stubby lettering on the reverse being of East Anglian (i.e. Norfolk) style and naming a moneyer Oswald of Norwich.²⁷ We illustrated with it a coin in Æthelred's name from an almost identical reverse die²⁸ where the obverse, unlike that of the Cnut coin, was also of East Anglian style (i.e. Norfolk A1). We said that the Cnut obverse was of a style not unlike Dolley's 'Northern A' of *Last Small Cross* and was certainly to be distinguished from that found on other *Small Cross* coins naming Cnut. We concluded that, although there was no direct evidence that the coin was not struck at Norwich, the circumstantial evidence of the other coins of the type suggested that it was not, in which case the dies would have been removed to Scandinavia.²⁹

Further evidence has since come to light and it will now be argued that its interpretation strengthens the case for English rather than Scandinavian minting. First, the Norwich reverse die used with the Cnut obverse has since been found coupled with the Æthelred obverse.³⁰ Secondly, we now know that both Norwich reverse dies were also used with a different obverse of Norfolk Aii style (with the head tilted backwards) which was additionally coupled with a reverse of Dolley's 'Northern A' style naming the moneyer as Hildulf of York. We therefore have a chain comprising six combinations, the specimens so far recorded being as follows:³¹

- | | | |
|------------|--------------|---|
| 5Aa | Obv.
Rev. | +EDELRED REX ANG (NG ligated) (Norfolk A1 style) (Malmer 614)
+OZPOLD MONONRD (lower limbs of central cross point at second O, at M, and between fourth O and second N (Norfolk style) (Malmer 1726) |
| | | (i) BEH 3183. 1.24 g. (ill. <i>BNJ</i> 30 (1961) Pl. XII A)
(ii) Uppsala, Holm 301. 1.22 g.
(iii) Doubleday (1987) 387 ex Duke of Argyll. 1.11 g. (Pl. 4, 13)
(iv) Lyon ex Arnot (1995) 178. 1.23 g. |
| 5Ab | Obv.
Rev. | As last
+OZPOLD MONONRD (lower limbs of central cross point at second O, between M and O, and at second N) (Norfolk style) (Malmer 1727) |
| | | (i) Elmore Jones (1971) 622. 1.22 g. (Pl. 4, 14) |
| 5Ba | Obv.
Rev. | +EDELRED REX ANG (NG ligated) (Norfolk Aii style)
As Aa |
| | | (i) SCBI Copenhagen II. 1031. 1.20 g. (Pl. 4, 16) |

²⁶ LvdMD, as in n. 14.

²⁷ BEH Cnut 2971.

²⁸ BEH Æthelred 3183.

²⁹ LvdMD, as in n. 14, pp. 239–40.

³⁰ Stewart Lyon, 'Some problems in interpreting Anglo-

Saxon coinage', *ASE* 5 (1976), 173–224 at p. 224, notes *e* and *f* to Plate XII.

³¹ I gladly acknowledge help from Bill Lean in assembling this chain.

5Bb	<i>Obv.</i>	As last
	<i>Rev.</i>	As Ab
		(i) <i>SCBI</i> Finland 544. 1.20 g. (pierced) (ii) Lyon (bt. Seaby 1957?). 1.24 g. (Pl. 4, 17)
5Bc	<i>Obv.</i>	As last
	<i>Rev.</i>	+HILDVLF M·O EOFRP (possibly Lincoln C style)
		(i) <i>SCBI</i> Glasgow 889. 1.06 g. (Pl. 4, 18) (ii) Stockholm ex Stumle Hoard (1989). 1.09 g.
5Cb	<i>Obv.</i>	+CNVT REX ANGLOR: (Lincoln C late style) (Malmer 633)
	<i>Rev.</i>	As Ab
		(i) <i>BEH</i> 2971. 1.22 g. (ill. <i>BNJ</i> 30 (1961) Pl.XII A)
		(ii) Visby, GF (VLS). 1.16 g. (broken in half)
		(iii) <i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen IIC, 3212, ex Bruun ex Carlyon-Britton (1913) 530 ex Evans. 1.30 g.
		(iv) <i>SCBI</i> East Anglia, 1249: Norwich Castle, ex Reynolds (1935). 1.13 g. (v) BM ex Lockett (1955) 715 ex Bruun (1925) 160; ?ex Bech (1906) 223. 1.20 g. (Pl. 4, 15)

Obverses **A** and **C** and reverses **a** and **b** are illustrated in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus, in which Professor Malmer has recorded combinations **Aa** and **Cb**.³² She was evidently unaware of the other four known combinations. If combination **Cc** existed it is as yet unknown.

Considering first the weights, seven of the eight recorded striking in Æthelred's name from combinations **Aa**, **Ab**, **Ba** and **Bb** weigh between 1.20 and 1.24 g., which is the modal range in Petersson's tabulation of the weights of *Last Small Cross* pence of the Norwich mint.³³ Given that all four dies are of Norfolk style there is no reason to suspect their combinations of being Scandinavian. They do not appear to date from the very end of the *Last Small Cross* issue; as has already been mentioned, 24 per cent of the recorded weights of Norwich pence of this type are below 1.15 g. If English, the five recorded specimens in Cnut's name from combination **Cb** could have been minted at much the same time: the heaviest is 1.30 g. and the lightest is only marginally below 1.15 g., though it should be noted that die **b** had seen appreciable wear before striking them. The weights of other *Small Cross* coins in Cnut's name which are undeniably Scandinavian are much more variable.³⁴

Studying the Cnut die **C** in detail, we see that there is a vertical line joining the front of the diadem to the forehead; three lines of hair extend below the diadem; the bust is narrow with the lines of the drapery straight and sloping downwards; the letters are cleanly cut; the uprights of the uncapped and unbarred **A** are close together; the **R** has a clear semicircular loop and an upright with a serif at the foot. These features in combination are not characteristic of York obverses though they are typical of dies of late Lincoln C style; these are usually coupled with reverses having the copulative M·O, sometimes with an additional letter engraved in the field (**Pl. 4, 10–12**). On such dies the cheek tends to be slightly moulded, as on the Cnut die, though less so than at York,³⁵ and their Lincoln origin is frequently but not invariably confirmed by the use of Æ for the first letter of the king's name.

Reverse die **c** was cut in the name of the York moneyer Hildulf, but the two specimens known from it, in combination **Bc**, weigh only 1.09 and 1.06 g. These are two of the only five coins with the York signature for which, in preparing his corpus of that mint, Bill Lean has recorded weights below 1.15 g.³⁶ It is improbable, given the weights and the die-linking, that

³² pp. 235 and 246.

³³ Petersson, 'Coins and Weights', as in n. 15, Table 69.

³⁴ See Malmer, as in n. 11, pp. 241–50.

³⁵ The line drawings on p. 62 of Blackburn, 'Cnut the Great', and the description on the same page of the Lincoln C

style, make it appear that the king's jaw is always delineated on Lincoln C dies by a continuation of the line of the eyebrow, in contrast to a moulded jaw on York dies. However, on late dies of Lincoln C the jaw is often at least partly moulded.

³⁶ 36a W. Lean, pers. comm.

die **c** was used at York with obverse **B**, which raises the question of whether it was actually cut there.

The moneyer's name is usually engraved as *Hildolf* in this type; the spelling *Hildulf* is otherwise found on only one coin, *BEH* 729, which weighs 1.19 g. and is therefore in the lowest significant weight range (1.15–1.19 g.) recorded for York. Since the obverse of *BEH* 729 is of York style and is also found with reverses reading *Hildolf*,^{36a} the spelling *Hildulf* on one reverse may be no more than a quirk of a York workman, and the same could be true of die **c**. However, another name, invariably spelt *Osgot* at York, is rendered at Lincoln as *Osgut* on seven of eight dies of this type recorded for him by Mossop, prompting the question of whether the *Hildulf* reverse dies might have been cut instead at Lincoln.

Distinguishing stylistically between reverses of York and Lincoln workmanship is more subjective than for obverses since it must rely almost entirely on epigraphy. It is tempting to argue that if die **c** could be attributed to the Lincoln engraver it might have been issued for use with the Cnut obverse die **C**. However, there are two difficulties. First, given the style of die **C** a reverse cut in Lincoln at the same time might have been expected to bear the copulative M:O rather than M-O; and, secondly, the surviving coins struck from die **C**'s only known combination **Cb** are significantly heavier than the two coins recorded from die **c**.³⁷ The only safe conclusion is that, in the absence of evidence of its having been used in combination with obverse **C**, the origin of die **c** must remain an open question. Whether cut at York or Lincoln it is unlikely to have been used at either location, at least in the known combination **Bc**. *Hildulf* may have been a moneyer with a travelling brief, for in the *Long Cross* issue one of the obverse dies he used was cut by the engraver of Hiberno-Norse copies, presumably in Dublin.³⁸

This leaves two questions still to be answered: why was die **C** cut in Cnut's name, and why were dies **C** and **c** apparently sent to Norwich and mixed with two normal local pairs of dies? At the moment there is no evidence that any of the three pairs of dies under consideration found their way instead to Scandinavia. If, therefore, the Cnut obverse was actually used by the Norwich moneyer Oswold, it was not the only Lincoln-cut die that Oswold employed in *Last Small Cross*. He went on to strike a coin in Æthelred's name from dies of late Lincoln **C** style, the obverse of which was shared with another moneyer, Wulmær, whom we will encounter again later:

5Dd	<i>Obv.</i>	+ÆDELRAED REX ANG (late Lincoln C style)
	<i>Rev.</i>	+OSPOLD M-O NORÐP (late Lincoln style)
	(i)	SCBI Copenhagen II, 1030. 1.00 g. (Pl. 4, 20)
5De	<i>Obv.</i>	As last
	<i>Rev.</i>	+PVLMAER M-O NORD (late Lincoln style)
	(i)	SCBI Copenhagen II, 1035. 1.06 g. (Pl. 4, 21)

The existence of these dies, though not providing an explanation, does strengthen the case for the English origin of all the known combinations of **A**, **B** and **C** with **a**, **b** and **c**.

Whatever the reason, it does now seem that one die cut in Cnut's name as *rex Anglor[um]*, almost certainly at Lincoln, was used in England, apparently at Norwich, before the issue's

³⁷ If the coins surviving from die-combination **Cb** were struck in Lincoln, their weights would suggest that die **C** should be placed early in the late Lincoln **C** phase of die-cutting. If, as seems more likely, they were struck in Norwich, such a conclusion would not be valid if at that time Norwich was minting to a heavier weight standard than Lincoln. It is uncertain whether or not that was the case.

³⁸ M.A.S. Blackburn, 'Thoughts on imitations of the Anglo-Saxon coinage', *SCMB* 1977, 344–50, updated by him in 'An Imitative Workshop Active during Æthelræd II's *Long Cross* Issue', *Studies in Northern Coinages of the Eleventh Century*, edited by C.J. Becker (Copenhagen 1981), 29–88, at p. 57 n. 52.

final phase. Although the coins recorded from it are relatively light they are by no means the lightest to have been minted at Norwich and so, presumably, not the latest either. The question therefore arises of when, during the currency of *Last Small Cross*, Cnut was in a position to have dies cut in Lincoln naming him as king of the English. Blackburn has demonstrated that three dies used in Scandinavia which described Cnut as *rex Dænor[um]* were cut at Lincoln in the middle ('unattached diadem') substyle of Lincoln C. He argues that this substyle could have been in vogue as early as 1014–15 because few of its English coins weigh under 1.20 g. (its main thrust being between 1.20 and 1.44 g.).³⁹ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that on Swein's death in February 1014 Cnut was elected king by the [Danish] fleet and remained in Lindsey until Easter, after which Æthelred, who had been in exile in Normandy since soon after Christmas, was recalled and expelled him. Perhaps it was during his sojourn in Lindsey that Cnut had those dies cut for use in Denmark although, in the event, it was his brother Harald who was recognized as king there.

Because the style of the *Cnut rex Anglor[um]* die is later, it is unlikely to be connected with the events of 1014. In the campaign of 1015–16 Cnut and his army were highly mobile and we do not know whether he established himself again in Lincoln during Æthelred's lifetime. Perhaps the Lincoln engraver was authorised to cut dies in Cnut's name as king of the English immediately after Æthelred's death and before resistance crystallized under Edmund Ironside; alternatively his first opportunity may not have occurred until after Edmund died in November 1016. (Florence of Worcester says that after the kingdom was formally divided between Edmund and Cnut the crown of the kingdom remained with Edmund.) If the latter is the case, then since the *Cnut rex Anglor[um]* die seems to have been coupled with a Norwich reverse before the final phase of the issue, it would appear that *Last Small Cross* continued to be struck in Æthelred's name until well into 1017. Why the continuation was not in Cnut's name can only be conjectured, and we are fortunate to be aware of one die that went into production, albeit in unexplained circumstances.⁴⁰

Nine other obverse dies of *Last Small Cross* type with Cnut's English title are illustrated in the Anglo-Scandinavian corpus⁴¹ but none is unquestionably from an English *atelier*. A later Lincoln origin for one die is conceivable, not least because it is found coupled with a reverse die apparently of northern English style (though the moneyer, named as +HEARDECNVT MO EOF, is otherwise unknown) (Pl. 4, 19),⁴² but since it was also used on a square flan with a *Quatrefoil* reverse naming Torksey it must have been exported if it was not an unusually good Scandinavian copy. None of the other obverses is combined with a reverse die that one would nowadays think of associating with a moneyer working in England, and four of them participate in Scandinavian die-chains. Hoard evidence suggests that the *Small Cross* dies were in use before English *Quatrefoil* coins were circulating in Scandinavia, which would point to a *terminus ante quem* of 1018. It has generally been thought that, politically, they could not have been cut before Harald's death, which is usually dated c. 1018–19 but could have occurred as early as 1017.⁴³ However, since they bear the English and not the Danish title

³⁹ Blackburn, 'Cnut the Great', as in n. 3.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the problematic relationship between the timing of the introduction of the *Quatrefoil* type and the composition of the tribute of 1018, see Blackburn and Lyon, 'Regional die-production', as in n. 2, pp. 256–9. If Cnut had not wanted the tribute to be paid in coins bearing his name it could explain his apparent continuation of the *Last Small Cross* issue in the name of Æthelred. But since the tribute, promised in 1016, took over two years to collect it is hard to believe that the introduction of the new type could have been delayed for so long. The hoard evidence does not suggest that Scandinavia was flooded with late *Last Small Cross* coins of Æthelred, but nor was there an influx of early coins of the new

type, such as had occurred in the last decade of the previous century when *Long Cross* replaced *Cruz*. Blackburn and Lyon suggest that either 'the tribute of 1018 was paid in a broad mixture of coin, or coin and bullion, or that a substantial proportion of it remained in England in the coffers of Cnut and other high-ranking Danes.'

⁴¹ Dies 626–32 and 634–5.

⁴² Die combination 629, 1719, which forms part of Chain 136. The treatment of the drapery is unusual in that there are only three lines instead of four between the inverted V and the back line. The specimen illustrated here is Lockett (1960) 3748 (wnr), not listed by Malmer.

⁴³ Blackburn, 'Cnut the Great', as in n. 3, p. 55.

it does not seem necessary to regard them as dependent on Cnut's succession in Denmark even though most if not all of the dies were cut in Scandinavia; the possibility that they were required for a special purpose not much later than die **C**, during Harald's lifetime and before the introduction in England of *Quatrefoil*, should not be ruled out.

6. Other dies of Norfolk style with unexpected associations

6.1 An obverse die of Norfolk Aii style, closely resembling die **5B** above, is found in combination with reverses naming Sumerlid of Thetford and Reignald of Lincoln,⁴⁴ as is noted in *SCBI* Copenhagen II:-

- 6.1Aa** Obv. +EDELRED REX ANG (Norfolk Aii style)
 Rev. +ZVMERLID ON DEOD (Norfolk style)
 (i) *BEH* 3809. 1.30 g. (**Pl. 4, 22**)
 (ii) *SCBI* Copenhagen II, 1241. 1.27 g.
 (iii) *SCBI* Reading 104. 1.28 g.
 (iv) Lyon ex Doubleday (1987) 490 ex Argyll. 1.26 g.
- 6.1Ab** Obv. As last (Mossop J)
 Rev. +REIGNALD ON LINO (Norfolk style) (Mossop h)
 (i) *SCBI* Copenhagen II, 585. 1.05 g. (**Pl. 4, 23**)
 (ii) *SCBI* St Petersburg I, 1128. 1.09 g.
 (iii) Stockholm Inv. 12079. 1.06 g.
 (iv) Stockholm Inv. 14925. 0.75 g. (fragment).

The obverse die had developed flaws in both letters R by the time it was used with the Reignald reverse. That it was used first by Sumerlid is also implied by the decline in weight.

6.2 An obverse die of Norfolk B style and one of Lincoln C participate in a short chain with reverses which name Wulfric of Lincoln, Ælfwold of Thetford and Wensige of Wilton:-

- 6.2Aa** Obv. +ÆDELRED REX ANG (Lincoln C style)
 Rev. +ÆLFOLD M^o DEOD (Lincoln C style)
 (i) *SCBI* Copenhagen II, 1198. 1.27 g. (**Pl. 5, 1**)
- 6.2Ab** Obv. As last
 Rev. +PENZIGE MON PILTV; (Norfolk style)
 (i) *SCBI* Copenhagen II, 1320. 1.04 g.
 (ii) Stockholm Inv. 8503. 0.98 g.
 (iii) BM ex Norweb (1987) 1226 (*SCBI* American 481) ex Elmore Jones (1971) 917 ex Blunt. 1.08 g. (**Pl. 5, 2**)
- 6.2Bb** Obv. +EDELRED REX ANGL (Norfolk B style)
 Rev. As last
 (i) *BEH* 4020. 0.94 g. (**Pl. 5, 3**)
- 6.2Bc** Obv. As last (Mossop —)
 Rev. +PVLFRIC ON LINCO (Norfolk style) (Mossop —)
 (i) Lyon bt Baldwin 1998 ex E. J. Harris. 0.95 g. (**Pl. 5, 4**)

Die flaws at the ends of the diadem ties support the weights in pointing to **Aa** having been struck earlier than **Ab**. Rust marks in the field in front of the face suggest that **Bb** is later than **Bc**. Who then was Wensige, how did he obtain a used Thetford obverse die and why was a

⁴⁴ When the Lincoln engraver cut this moneyer's name he consistently spelt it Reienold.

reverse die cut for him in Norfolk? In a paper written in 1985 and published in 1990 the late Christopher Blunt and I reviewed reasons for previous suggestions, based on the die-link **Aa-Ab-Bb**, that Wensige was operating at an emergency mint at what is now Hockwold-cum-Wilton, near Thetford.⁴⁵ We recognized that Wilton in Wiltshire was an improbable place for **Bb** to have been struck, not least because no other minting appears to have occurred there during *Last Small Cross*, and we wondered whether Wensige might have been a royal official from that town who was with the king at Thetford and was required to mint some silver there. However, on balance we thought the significance of his Wilton signature had better be left as an open question.

The recent acquisition which suggests that Wensige's obverse die **B** of Norfolk B style had previously been used by the Lincoln moneyer Wulfric is interesting but does little to resolve the problem, for Wulfric's reverse die is also of Norfolk style. As Mossop Plates XXX and XXXI show, Wulfric was a regular moneyer at Lincoln, striking in all three principal Lincoln styles, but late in the issue he also acquired a pair of dies of London D style (Mossop Li) so he, too, may have had a special function. Another of his products (Mossop Kh, *BEH* 2001) is from an obverse die of irregular style and erroneous inscription that was also used by the London moneyer Brihtwold (*BEH* 2251) in a die chain which merits a separate note at a later date.

6.3 Another set of Norfolk dies was produced for a moneyer named as Onlaf of Lewes:-

- 6.3Aa** Obv. +EDELRED REX ANGL. (Norfolk B style)
 Rev. +ONLAF MON LEPE (Norfolk style)
 (i) *BEH* 1469. 1.09 g.
 (ii) *SCBI* Copenhagen II, 467. 1.01 g.
 (iii) *BMC* 126. wnr (chipped, base metal)
 (iv) Lyon ex Arnot (1995) 174. 1.13 g.
 (v) Ex H. H. King and Montagu (1897) 8h. wnr (edge cracked between +O and N). (Pl. 5, 5)
- 6.3Ab** Obv. As last
 Rev. +ONLAF MON LÆPE (Norfolk style)
 (i) *BEH* 1468. 1.06 g.

So far no die-link with a Norfolk moneyer has been found, but the circumstances which caused a reverse die to be engraved for Wensige of Wilton may also have occasioned the production of these dies for Onlaf – an Old Norse name (viz *Olaf*) which is not otherwise found among late Anglo-Saxon moneyers anywhere.

6.4 At much the same time Norfolk dies were engraved for the London moneyer Ælfget:-

- 6.4Aa** Obv. +EDELRED REX ANG (Norfolk B style)
 Rev. +ELFGT OM LVNDN (Norfolk style)
 (i) Lyon. 1.02 g. (Pl. 5, 6)

This is likely to be the Ælfget who on one occasion used a Huntingdon signature: the dies for the only known specimen were made in London. The style of that Huntingdon obverse is London B and the die was also used by another London moneyer, Godwine:-

- 6.4Bb** Obv. +EDELRAED REX ANGL (London B style)
 Rev. +ÆLFGET MON HVNTA (London style)
 (i) Lyon ex Lockett 4605a. 1.14 g. (Pl. 5, 7)

⁴⁵ C.E. Blunt (†) and C.S.S. Lyon, 'Some notes on the mints of Wilton and Salisbury', *SLAC* 25–34 at pp. 29–31.

6.4Bc	<i>Obv.</i>	As last
	<i>Rev.</i>	+GODPINE M·O·N·L·VNDEI (London style)
		(i) <i>BEH</i> 2606. 1.28 g.
		(ii) <i>BEH</i> 2606 bis. 1.27 g.
		(iii) <i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen II, 842. 1.10 g. (chipped)
		(iv) <i>SCBI</i> Berlin 544. 1.15 g.
		(v) Lyon bt Baldwin 1957. 1.17 g. (Pl. 5, 8)

Ælfget may therefore have had responsibilities which caused him to coin silver from time to time in eastern England. Godwine appears to have had second use of the obverse die, to judge from the greater degree of rusting within some of the letters.

6.5 One of the regular Huntingdon moneyers, Sæwine, used an obverse die which is also found combined with reverses naming the moneyers Brantinc of Sudbury and Ælfwi of London. From the evidence of rust marks it seems probable that the order of striking was as set out below:-

6.5Aa	<i>Obv.</i>	+EDELRED REX ANGLO (Norfolk B style)
	<i>Rev.</i>	+BRANTINC ON SVÐI (Norfolk style)
		(i) <i>BEH</i> 3644. 1.28 g. (Pl. 5, 9)
6.5Ab	<i>Obv.</i>	As last
	<i>Rev.</i>	+SEPINE O . . . VNTD: (Norfolk style)
		(i) <i>BEH</i> 1398. 1.10 g. (piece missing from edge) (Pl. 5, 10)
6.5Ac	<i>Obv.</i>	As last
	<i>Rev.</i>	+ÆL·FPI M·O LV·NDEN (London style)
		(i) <i>BEH</i> 2105. 1.28 g. (Pl. 5, 11)
		(ii) Lyon bt Spink 1983. 1.24 g.
		(iii) Fitzwilliam Mus. ex Blunt. wnr.

6.6 The Norwich moneyer Wulmær, to whom reference has already been made,⁴⁶ used an obverse die which was later coupled with a reverse naming the London moneyer Ælfric:-

6.6Aa	<i>Obv.</i>	+EDELRED REX ANGLO (Norfolk B style)
	<i>Rev.</i>	+PVLMAER ONORÐP (Norfolk style)
		(i) <i>BEH</i> 3204 bis. 1.28 g. (Pl. 5, 12)
6.6Ab	<i>Obv.</i>	As last
	<i>Rev.</i>	+ELFRIC MON LVNDEI (London style: N's reversed)
		(i) <i>BEH</i> 2075. 0.93 g. (broken in two) (Pl. 5, 13)

7. A remarkable multi-mint die chain with East Anglian involvement

The die-cutting style given the label London C may be by a different hand than the other main London styles. The portrait is rather crude with a prominent pointed nose; the rounded beaded hair often projects behind the head; the inverted V in front of the drapery is sometimes double; the ethnic is usually ANGLO; the lettering is more compact than on London A and B and in particular the R does not have a preceding tail. Dies of this style reached both East Anglia and the Sussex coast, so its attribution to London is reasonably secure. It was in use at a time when the weight standard was between 1.3 and 1.4 grams, and may therefore have overlapped a similar phase of London D.

⁴⁶ *supra*, p. 35.

One obverse die has attracted unusual attention because of its distinctive bust and especially the presence of a faint line of drapery sloping slightly upwards between the first and second solid lines. This die has so far been observed in combination with reverses naming eight moneyers at five locations, namely Dioreman and Oswold of London, Elfwig, Wulfsig and Clern of Cambridge, Cinsige of Dover, Godleof of Stamford, and Eadric of 'Derw' (or possibly 'Derp'):

7Aa	Obv.	+ÆDELRED REX ANGLO (London C style). Virtually unworn die.
	Rev.	+ELFPIG ON GARNTTE (Norfolk style)
	(i)	Lyon bt Spink 1993 ex <i>SCBI</i> Mack 1012. 1.17 g. (Pl. 5, 14)
7Ab	Obv.	As Aa. Virtually unworn die.
	Rev.	+EADRIC MON DERP (Norfolk style)
	(i)	<i>BEH</i> 689. 1.10 g. (Pl. 5, 15)
7Ac	Obv.	As Aa. Virtually unworn die.
	Rev.	+—EMAN M ^Q ON LV (London style)
	(i)	<i>BEH</i> 2302. 0.90 g. (fragment) (Pl. 5, 16)
7Bc	Obv.	+EDELRAED REX AGNO (N reversed) (middle London D style)
	Rev.	+DIOREMAN M ^Q ON LV (same die as last)
	(i)	<i>BEH</i> 2301. 1.14 g. (Pl. 5, 17)
		(The obverse is shared with <i>BEH</i> 2558, +GODMAN MON LVNI (2nd and 3rd N's reversed), 1.10 g.
7Ad	Obv.	As Aa. Letters worn from first R to E of REX.
	Rev.	+OZPOLD ON LVND (London style)
	(i)	<i>BEH</i> 2896. 1.24 g. (Pl. 5, 18)
	(ii)	<i>SCBI</i> South-Eastern 1012 ex St Martins-le-Grand (London) hoard. 0.76 g. (incomplete fragments)
7Ae	Obv.	As Aa. Die in similar state to Ad.
	Rev.	+PVLFIG MON GRAN (Norfolk style)
	(i)	<i>BEH</i> 1203. 1.34 g.
	(ii)	<i>SCBI</i> Cambridge 733. 1.21 g. (Pl. 5, 19)
7Af	Obv.	As Aa. Die in similar state to Ad.
	Rev.	+CLERN MON GARNTET (Anomalous style)
	(i)	<i>BEH</i> 1149. 1.30 g. (Pl. 5, 20)
7Cf	Obv.	+EDELRED REX ANGO (Norfolk A style)
	Rev.	As Af
	(i)	<i>BEH</i> 1150. 1.22 g. (Pl. 5, 21)
	(ii)	<i>SCBI</i> Finland 440. 1.31 g.
7Ag	Obv.	As Aa. Die in similar state to Ad.
	Rev.	+GODLEOE ON ZTA (London style?)
	(i)	Stockholm CNS 1.1.19. 1512. 1.16 g. (Pl. 5, 22)
7Ah	Obv.	As Aa. Die shows further deterioration.
	Rev.	+CINSIGE MON DOFE (London D style)
	(i)	Stockholm Inv. 12079–255A. 1.08 g. (Pl. 5, 23)
	(ii)	Lyon bt B.J. Dawson 1998 ex R.S. Kinsey ex Duke of Argyll. 1.02 g. (Ill. <i>BNJ</i> 29 Pl. II, 31)

The presence of a specimen of combination **Ad** in a hoard from London makes it almost certain that the coins in this chain were struck in England, but it is unlikely that the obverse die was used in five different places. The reverse dies, with the exception of **f**, are of regular workmanship, but some or all of them may have been brought together (perhaps in London)

and been reused in unauthorised minting. The weights would suggest that the Cambridge combinations were struck before the others, but die wear – if correctly reflected in the order given above – seems to be at variance with this.

The key to the chain might be the moneyer named on the die of anomalous style as Clern of Cambridge, if he should happen to be the same person as another moneyer who used anomalous reverse dies (albeit of a different style) in the name of Cytlern of Lincoln. None of Cytlern's nine known obverse dies is of Lincoln style. Several are anomalous, with misspelt inscriptions, but he had the use of two obverse dies of London a style and two of early London D, and is die-linked through these to moneyers of London and Southwark.⁴⁷ He is likely to have been operating clandestinely, probably not at Lincoln, and it is conceivable that later in the issue he had a die cut as Clern of Cambridge. One wonders, though, how obverse or reverse dies that had belonged to moneyers of various different towns were obtained by such a person.

The chain is of particular interest for the enigmatic signature 'Derw' or 'Derp'. The die which bears it is of a style associated with Norfolk and the moneyer, Eadric, is known at Ipswich in this type and also at Cambridge in *Quatrefoil*, but in the light of the Wensige and Onlaf coins already discussed it would be wrong to limit the quest for him to East Anglia. It is tempting to equate the signature with the unlocated 'Dir' of the *Small Flan* type of Edward the Confessor, which is die-linked to Ipswich and therefore likely to be in East Anglia.⁴⁸ However, if that place can be shown to be the same as the 'Derne' or 'Dernt' of the later *Pointed Helmet* and *Hammer Cross* issues⁴⁹ a connection with 'Derw' or 'Derp' would be hard to sustain.⁵⁰

8. Conclusion

The *Last Small Cross* issue is of importance because it spans the period of the Danish conquest of England. Studying it in detail and eliciting its irregularities can help to throw light on the problems of managing a national currency in a time of major political and military turmoil. This paper has sought to highlight some interesting features of the later part of the issue in eastern England, when events were coming to a head.

Many of the die-links recorded here were discovered by Michael Dolley, Gay van der Meer or myself during visits to Sweden in the early 1960s but have remained unpublished until now; others have been found in recent times. Bill Lean in particular has noted additions to previously discovered die-chains, especially no. 5, and I am grateful to him for allowing me to include them here. Undoubtedly other relevant material has yet to be recognized, and this means that the specimens detailed for the various listed die combinations should be taken as illustrative rather than exhaustive.

My thanks are also due to Mark Blackburn, Kenneth Jonsson and Brita Malmer for valuable comments when the paper was in draft, and to the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm for many of the illustrations. For failure to put much of this material in the public domain many years ago I can only apologise, as I do for any errors that may now have crept in. However, I take full responsibility for the opinions expressed, not least on the significance of the pence naming Oswold of Norwich and minted in the name of *Cnut rex Anglor[um]*.

⁴⁷ See Mossop, die-linking chart for Plate XXII.

⁴⁸ R.H.M. Dolley, 'A New Late Saxon Mint in Suffolk', *NCirc* LXVIII, 11 (November 1960), 236.

⁴⁹ F. Elmore Jones, 'Four Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet Notes: [1] The Mysterious Mint of "Dernt"', *BNJ* 31 (1962), 66–73 at pp. 66–68; and now Michael Sharp, 'A

New Coin of Dir/Dernt', *NCirc* CVII, 1 (February 1999), 6.

⁵⁰ The mint signature on *BEH* 689 has been read as 'Derw' or 'Derp'. However, the first letter is damaged and could be a G. The upright has a small wedge beside its foot, and its top is joined to the wedge by an irregular curve which may have developed with use.

PLATE 2

WINCHESTER A



WINCHESTER B



WINCHESTER C



EXETER A



EXETER B



GLOUCESTER



LONDON A



LONDON B



LONDON C



LONDON D



CANTERBURY



ROCHESTER



YORK (EARLY)

YORK (LATER)

LINCOLN A

LINCOLN B



LINCOLN C (EARLY)

LINCOLN C (MIDDLE)

LINCOLN C (LATE)



NORFOLK Aa

NORFOLK A i-iii

NORFOLK B



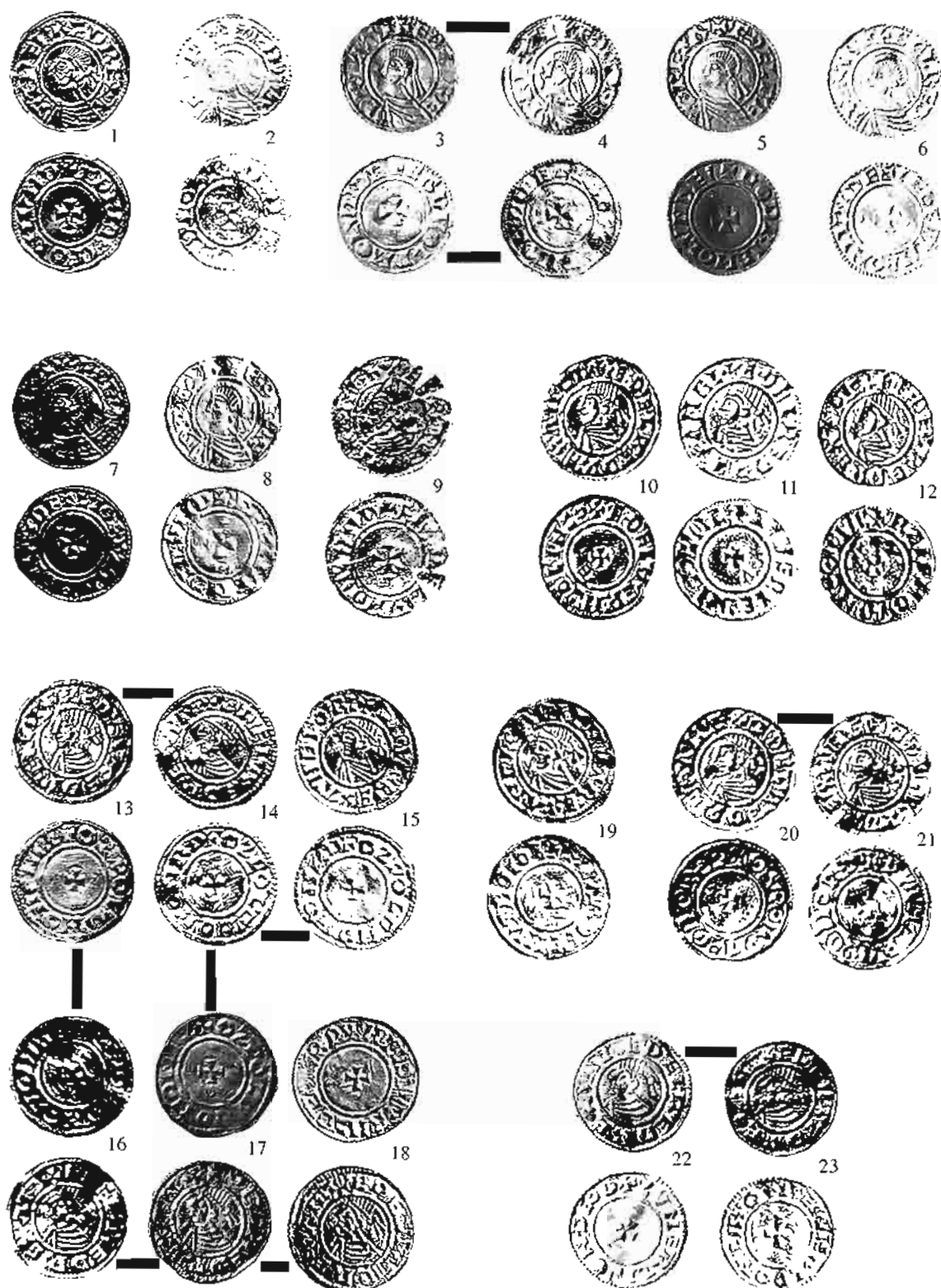
IPSWICH A

IPSWICH B

IPSWICH C



PLATE 4



LYON: LAST SMALL CROSS: 1-9 LATE LONDON VARIETIES, 10-12 LATE LINCOLN, 13-23 EAST ANGLIAN DIE-LINKING, ETC.



LYON: LAST SMALL CROSS: EAST ANGLIAN DIES AND DIE-LINKING

A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE CLASSIFICATION AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE *CROSS-AND-CROSSLETS* TYPE OF HENRY II

T. C. R. CRAFTER

Introduction

THE Cross-and-Crosslets Type (1158–80) of Henry II has a very uniform appearance since the same coin type was issued simultaneously from all mints, of which up to thirty were distributed throughout the country. This type, however, varied stylistically a great deal over the twenty-two years it was in production, and according to style the coins can be classified into six classes (A to F). It is the aim of this paper to attempt to re-evaluate the classification and chronology of each of these classes, last formulated in 1951.

Although the Cross-and-Crosslets type has not occupied numismatists to the same degree as other coinages of the twelfth century, much of the work that has been carried out is authoritative and wide-ranging. In the early part of this century the Cross-and-Crosslets type was the subject of two major studies concerning the internal classification. In 1918 Lawrence tried unsatisfactorily to devise a classification by legends.¹ In 1927 Brooke, with the assistance of Lawrence, organised the coins by bust and the result was much sounder.² D.F. Allen, with assistance from Elmore-Jones, published the *British Museum Catalogue* of the series in 1951.³ This monumental work advanced Brooke's classification, and has been so well regarded that little research has been carried out subsequently. The Pipe Roll entries, which are central to the chronology, were investigated at the beginning of the century by Carlyon-Britton,⁴ and the evidence was laid out in detail by Allen. Mayhew, in his chapter in *A New History of The Royal Mint*, has a wide ranging discussion of the most important matters concerning this coinage which up-dates some of the passages in *BMC*.⁵ Martin Allen, while dealing with this coinage of the Durham mint, suggested that the Pipe Roll evidence for the chronology could be re-examined.⁶ Most useful statistical information is provided by Metcalf, who made an estimate of the total output of the mints during the coinage, based on the number of known dies.⁷ Although this coinage is often styled 'Tealby type', throughout this paper I have followed Allen in preferring the term Cross-and-Crosslets type,⁸ to avoid confusion when referring to the 1807 Tealby Hoard itself.

Acknowledgements: go especially to Mark Blackburn, who early on examined this paper and commented upon the text and guided me in the use of statistical evidence; and to Marion Archibald for kindly allowing me to view hoard reports while they were still in preparation for publication. This paper has also benefited greatly from those who have kindly provided information, encouragement and advice, including Martin Allen, Craig Barclay, Mike Bonser, Alan Dawson, Bill Lean, David Palmer, David Walker and Gareth Williams. Thanks are due to Barrie Cook for photographs used on the plate of coins in the British Museum collection.

¹ L.A. Lawrence, 'On the First Coinage of Henry II', *BNJ* 14 (1918), 13–37.

² G.C. Brooke, 'The First Coinage, or "Tealby" Type, of Henry II', *NC* 1927, 313–41.

³ D.F. Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British*

Museum: The Cross-and-Crosslets Type of Henry II (London, 1951), (*BMC Henry II*).

⁴ P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, 'Historical Notes on the First Coinage of Henry II', *BNJ* 2 (1905), 185–242. This deals with extracts from Pipe Roll 2 Henry II (1155/6) to 23 Henry II (1176/7).

⁵ N.J. Mayhew, 'From Regional to Central Minting, 1158–1464', *A New History of the Royal Mint*, edited by C.E. Challis (1992), pp. 83–178 at pp. 83–92.

⁶ M. Allen, 'The Durham Mint before Boldon Book', *Anglo-Norman Durham*, edited by D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (1994), pp. 381–98 at pp. 392–5.

⁷ D.M. Metcalf, 'An estimate of the total output of the English mints during the "Cross-and-Crosslets" coinage, 1158–80', *Edwardian Monetary Affairs (1279–1344)*, edited by N.J. Mayhew, *BAR British Series* 36 (1977), pp. 26–31.

⁸ *BMC Henry II*, p. xvi.



Fig. 1. Epigraphical Table illustrating the variance between noduled and typical lettering in Class A.

The Classification

It is usual to classify coins of this series according to busts, for in the *BMC* 'Bust' and 'Class' are used synonymously for the convenience of describing the obverse design in the catalogue.⁹ This is somewhat misleading since the 'class' of coins can often be deduced solely from the reverse type's execution. The six classes of the Cross-and-Crosslets type defined in the *BMC* are an extension of the three groups devised by Brooke.¹⁰ The classification of the coins cannot easily be added to, but it seems that certain points can be tidied up. Brooke's system of grouping coins is not outdated by any means, and is a sensible arrangement of the coins from an aesthetic point of view which often strikes one as desirable for its simplicity.

Among the earliest dies, if not the earliest, is an obverse of Lincoln used by the moneyer Raven. This is a Class A1 die of exemplary standard. The epigraphy is ornamented with 'nodules' in the centre of each upright (Fig. 1), the crown bands are very curved and the armour, sceptre and hand have a superb unity of style.¹¹ (Pl. 6, 1).

Within Brooke's Group A (Allen Classes A and B) the legend becomes progressively shorter as larger lettering is used. This larger lettering occurs in most coinages of this time as the type progresses and is due to less careful engraving. The down strokes are a fraction wider and the serifs slightly exaggerated. Brooke had noted that the lettering of the earliest coins of the Cross-and-Crosslets type is most unlike that on the latest coins of Stephen's reign, but this is quite natural as one would expect the first coins of a new type to be well executed.¹² The contraction of ANGL to ANG was noted by Allen, who wrote that ANG nearly always occurs with Bust A2 and continues into B.¹³ The unbarred A is also usually found with Bust A2. A similar increase in the size of lettering had occurred in Stephen's type 1, causing the legend to contract. However, as Class A of the Cross-and-Crosslets type progresses, the legend occupies more space before it is reduced. The area that the king's arm and the mantle takes up is reduced; the ornament indicating the king's mantle is turned steadily upright. This is probably why the trefoil of pellets by the king's hand on Bust A1 is omitted on A2 as the mantle becomes crushed up beside the sceptre hand (Pl. 6, 2-3; 4-5; 6-7).¹⁴

Class B is probably to be associated with A rather than C. As Allen quite rightly states, Class B should be regarded as a hang over from Class A, although he preferred to group it with C.¹⁵ It seems unlikely that an issue of new dies would contain two distinctive styles. At some mints and in the case of some moneyers coins of Class C followed on those of Class A, and it seems likely that dies of Class B were not distributed consistently to every mint. At Durham a new moneyer (Iohan) must have taken up office during the period of Class B die cutting, and succeeded Waltier who is only known for Class A. The small number of estimated dies of Class B, 85 compared with 559 for Class A, implies only a short duration and it appears to have been

⁹ *BMC Henry II*, p. xviii.

¹⁰ Brooke, as in n. 2, pp. 331-33.

¹¹ Die duplicate of F.E.J 25/24.

¹² Brooke, as in n. 2, pp. 329-30.

¹³ *BMC Henry II*, p. xxiii.

¹⁴ Each of the sets of coins on the plate are of the same mint and moneyer in order to suggest a consecutive chronological development in the design.

¹⁵ *BMC Henry II*, pp. lxi-lxii.

merely a distinctive phase of die cutting, without an intention to withdraw and replace existing Class A dies.¹⁶ The 'issued on the basis of need' argument seems most strong, especially when it is noted that Canterbury, London, Lincoln and Norwich, the mints with a large output, had 57 per cent of the estimated total dies of Class B.¹⁷ Class B dies were issued to Ipswich, which according to the interpretation of the Pipe Roll entries for *Defalta Monetarium* was opened in c. 1161/2 and had not taken part in the first three years of the coinage.¹⁸ It seems reasonable, therefore, that dies of Class B followed those of Class A, but that they were used in parallel with the later dies of Class A, until both were superseded by Class C. The table of *Defalta Monetarium* in the *BMC* can be used to show that Class A was followed directly by C, but, unfortunately, it does not shed any light on where Class B appeared in the series.¹⁹

The transition between Classes A and B is so gradual that the distinction between them becomes blurred. Only the principal designs, as grouped by Brooke, would have been recognised by the die cutters as significant, a class such as B being an unconscious stylistic development only discerned by modern numismatists. Through the following table it has been possible to identify those coins that belong to the transitional phase, in terms of epigraphy,²⁰ fleurs on the crown, diameter of the sceptre head, and reverse crosslet measurement. These transitional coins are of poorer workmanship and design compared with true coins of Class A: a glance at the plates and a comparison with the regular coins of Class A will confirm this. It must be recognised that these coins, although transitional, have the characteristics of Class A as described by Allen in the *BMC*.

TABLE 1. The stages of transition of dies of A2 showing the stylistic development that links classes A and B.

<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>BMC</i>	<i>Fleurs</i>	<i>Diameter of Crosslet</i>	<i>Diameter of Sceptre Head</i>	<i>Plate</i>
Winchester	Hosbert	769	A	2.8 mm	3.2 mm	(6,8)
Wallingford	Fulke	750	A-B	3.0 mm	2.9 mm	(6,9)
Wilton	Lantier	754	A	3.0 mm	3.6 mm	(6,10)
London	Pieres Sal.	546	A	3.2 mm	2.9 mm*	(6,11)
Exeter	Rogier	269	A	3.5 mm	3.8 mm	(6,12)
London	Wid	572	A-B	3.5 mm	4.1 mm	(6,13)
Durham	Waltier	257	B	3.8 mm	4.1 mm	(6,14)
Newcastle	Willem	585a	B	3.1 mm**	4.1 mm	(6,15)

Notes to Table 1:

* The obverse die of this coin is a regular Class A2 used with a transitional reverse.

** This reverse is the last transitional form of Class A, and as such the crosslets are reduced to the form usually associated with Class B (see Table 2)

The contraction of the legend ANGL to ANG, in Class A, arose out of necessity to accommodate the bust as the lettering became coarser, and it was continued in Class B. The legend is usually ANG during Class B, but is occasionally reduced to AN. The drapery suffers a drastic rearrangement in order to maintain legend and bust. Since the earliest coins of Class A have lettering of approximately 2.0 mm in height, the 3.0 mm lettering on Class B caused the legend to be more compacted and bust to be foreshortened (Pl. 6, 16). The crown and fleurs are short and stocky, compared with Class A, and the face is more rounded. The mantle arrangement was no doubt cut on to the die last of all, as its exact size and shape vary as the space allows. The

¹⁶ Metcalf, as in n. 7, p. 31 for estimated number of dies. The implication is not necessarily as strong as suggested by these widely differing figures: one would expect the initial type of any recoinage to have been large, but even so, Class B was probably brief.

¹⁷ Metcalf, as in n. 7, p. 35.

¹⁸ *BMC Henry II*, p. cxxxvii. For the system of *Defalta Monetarium* see Table 9 below.

¹⁹ *BMC Henry II*, p. lxxxii

²⁰ See table facing p. clxxxiv in *BMC Henry II*.

²¹ *BMC Henry II*, p. xliii

four forms of the mantle on Class B are therefore, as D.F. Allen quite rightly indicates,²¹ not of any chronological significance, as space available varied from die to die.

TABLE 2. Measurable differences between Classes A and B (transitional types excluded)

			Class A	Class B
(i)	Fleurs on the crown	(a)	Width 2 mm	2 mm
		(b)	Height 3.5–4 mm	2.5–3 mm
(ii)	Diameter of crosslets		2.5–3 mm	3–4 mm
(iii)	Diameter of sceptre head		2.5–3 mm	2.5–4 mm
(iv)	Epigraphy	(a)	Height 1.8–2.2 mm	2.5–3 mm
		(b)	Width of N 2.4–2.6 mm	2.5–3.2 mm

There is a group of irregular coins that has been identified in the *BMC* as belonging to the period of Class C.²² Coins of Class C1 and C2 are themselves notable for a certain disunity of style, yet there is a small number of dies for which the design is obviously of a different and most probably local style. Lawrence noted that within the irregular group there are three types of coin with inner circles on the obverse,²³ of which some were likely to have been marked on as a guide when the design was cut, but not polished off, whilst on others it is most certainly part of the intended design. The inner circle exists as a hairline (Pl. 6, 18–19), a distinct dotted line (Pl. 6, 20–21²⁴), and a well-marked linear inner circle (Pl. 6, 22). Lawrence's theory that on some coins the inner circle appears because it was marked on the die as a guide, but the cutter failed to remove it afterwards, is given some credence by a coin of Newcastle. This piece is a regular Class C2 (Pl. 6, 17), and thus all the more significant as it is contemporary with the irregular group. Beneath the letters on the obverse is the clear trace of a hairline inner circle; this is in the form of a smooth arc which must have been cut using a small marking compass.

In the *BMC* it is stated that certain coins are irregular whilst others just differ from the norm, but the catalogue often describes their anomalous features rather than classifying them as a separate group. Such coins, which include those with inner circles, are sufficiently consistent in style and occur at so many mints that it is evident they were distributed from a central workshop. They seem to represent the final phase of die production of Class C, and, for the sake of convenience and consistency with the established classification, they should be termed Class C3. The essential features of this sub-class are set out in Table 3.²⁵

TABLE 3. Identification of Coins of Class C3.

(i)	Epigraphy	(a)	The Style of the lettering used on these coins was described correctly as 'lettering with reduced serifs'.
		(b)	The lettering has the appearance of being 'sharp' as some parts of the letters were probably cut on to the die rather than punched.
(ii)	Bust	(a)	The bust is large, the mantle is usually akin to C1, yet the fleurs on the crown are often very short and broad like those on Class D.
		(b)	The sceptre shaft is very thick and the jewels are very pronounced.
(iii)	Crosslets		These have the appearance of being more akin to an expanding cross composed of wedges, rather than the usual cross pattee.
(iv)	Inner Circles		These appear on a number of coins of this type and in three forms:
		(a)	hairline
		(b)	distinct dotted line
		(c)	well marked inner-circles

²² *BMC Henry II*, p. xxvi.

²³ Lawrence, as in n. 1, p. 18.

²⁴ The coin illustrated on Pl. 6, 21 has an inner circle of this type to the right of the bust only.

²⁵ The evidence of the *BMC* plates is rather misleading. Those coins of true Class C3 are Plate XIV, numbers 11–13 and 16–20, and Plate XV, numbers 1–3, 5 and 12. Other obverse and reverse dies exist muled with Classes C1 or C2.

The tight unity of style lost in Class C is restored with D. The design becomes coarser and Class E has a different form of mantle, whilst Class F is identified by a long ringlet of hair in place of the usual single curl. In terms of the classification of these three classes (Pl. 6, 26–8), no revision can currently be made.

The Status of the Classes

D.F. Allen was heavily influenced by the then current theory that frequent periodic recoinages had been occurring about every three years since Anglo-Saxon times up until c. 1170. The reign of King Stephen was included in the theory: Brooke listed seven types for the eighteen-year reign, which works out at about two and a half years a type. On this basis it was thought that the abandonment of this system (if it did exist to any extent) occurred sometime during the Cross-and-Crosslets type. Allen noted that about three years after the introduction of the Cross-and-Crosslets type, when theoretically a change of type was expected, modifications in the design were made.²⁶ These coins he called Class B. Thus B constituted a change, but owing to the fact that few coins exist, by itself the class could not possibly warrant a duration of three years. To satisfy this problem, evidence was proposed to organise Classes B and C together, thus producing a four year term.²⁷ The conclusion is drawn that the time-scale of the classes was justified by arguing that the frequent periodic recoinages were not abandoned until a few years after 1158, and that dies of a slightly different design were being issued every three or four years until c. 1170. Blackburn has suggested that the system was abandoned in or shortly after 1125 and that Henry I type XV is the first of the immobilised coinages.²⁸ It is therefore suggested that the Cross-and-Crosslets type may be released from a dating constraint appealing to frequent periodical changes in type.

The ordering of the classes, as found in the *BMC*, places Class B alongside C. This conclusion was reached on the basis of mules and the activities at the mint of Ipswich.²⁹ In the case of mules Allen used the large number of B–C mules to conclude that these classes were issued simultaneously. However, the general rule for mules, as stated by Brooke, is that they occur at a change of type, and the obverse is usually the earlier die.³⁰ Therefore, following this premise, the large amount of muling of Classes B and C and A and C indicates that C followed B and A together. Mules exist between Classes A and B, but there are so many intermediate and transitional coins that true mules can usually only be identified by a difference in the epigraphy on each side. The change in epigraphy is often the key to determining the exact class to which a die belongs.³¹ Table 4 is an attempt to list the known mules, and their combinations are summarised in Table 5.

²⁶ *BMC Henry II*, p. xii.

²⁷ *BMC Henry II*, p. lxii.

²⁸ M. Blackburn, 'Coinage and Currency Under Henry I: A Review', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991), 64–75; and M. Blackburn, 'Coinage and Currency', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, edited by Edmund King (Oxford 1994), p. 152. The ground was first explored by D. Walker, 'A possible monetary crisis in the early 1130s', *SCMB* Nov. 1984, 284–6, followed up by a letter in *SCMB* March 1985, 56; J.D. Gomm, 'Henry I chronology: a case for reappraisal', *SCMB* April 1985, 105–7. The arguments advanced by both authors were refined by further notes: D. Walker, 'Christmas 1124: end of Henry I type XIV?', *SCMB* July/Aug. 1985, 231–3; and a letter from J.D.

Gomm, *SCMB* Nov. 1985, 365. If type XV lasted for around ten years one might expect there to have been some form of stylistic development as seen in Group A of the Cross-and-Crosslets coins, it is at present undetermined whether such development occurred.

²⁹ *BMC Henry II*, pp. lxi–ii. Ipswich did not take part in the coinage until 1161–2 (Pipe Roll 8 Hen. II) and because it struck in Classes B and C it was concluded (p. lxx) that these two classes were issued together.

³⁰ G. C. Brooke, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: The Norman Kings* (London, 1916), I p. xxxviii.

³¹ See section 'Classification' above, pp. 00–00.

TABLE 4. The evidence of Mules of Classes (transitional coins excluded).

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Classes Muled</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>F.E.J plate</i>	<i>BMC</i>
Bristol	B/A	Tancard	13/16	12 (Pl. 6, 23)
	D/E	Rogier		9
Canterbury	E/C	Godeep	15/9	-/79
	A/C	Ricard	16/5	98/-
	B/C	Ricard		101 (Pl. 6, 24)
	A/C	Ricard	16/8	102
	D/E	Ricard		155
	C2/B	Wiulf	19/7-8	
Carlisle	E3/C	Willem	20/2	603/-
	E2/C?	Willem	20/9	224/-
Colchester	C1/A	Alwine	20/25	243b
	A/C	Alwine	20/26	
Exeter	C/B	uncertain		273
Hereford	C1/A	Driv	21/27-8	284-7
Ipswich	D/C	Nicole		320-1
	D/E	Nicole		324-5
	D2/E	Nicole	22/20	
Lincoln	C/B	Goddric		391-2
	F/C	Lanfram		404-5
	A or B/C	Raven		423
London	C/B	Alwine		450a
	C/B	Alwine?		451 (Pl. 6, 25)
	D/C	Edmund		459
	E/C	Edmund	463a	
	C1/B	Hunfrei	27/7	495
	C1/B	Iohan	27/10	503
	E/C	Lefwine		509
	A/C	Martin	28/3	521/523
	A/C	Martin	28/4	523
	A/B	Pieres		527a-9
	C1/B	Pieres	28/7	568/-
	C/E	Pieres		531-2
	A2/C	Pieres Mer.	28/27	541/-
	A/C	Ricard		554a
	C/B	Swetman		567
	C1/B	unidentified	29/33	469/-
	D/F?	unidentified	29/34	559/-
Newcastle	C1/A	Willem	30/5	586a-7
	C/E	Willem		592a
	D/C	Willem		595
Norwich	A1/B	Hugo	31/31	645/656
	A/B	Hugo		656
	B/C	Hugo	31/32	641/658
	C/B	Hugo		657
Thetford	B/C	Willem	33/23	731
York	A/D	Herebert	35/6	795
uncertain	A/B	uncertain	36/10-1	

The following coins have been identified as transitional A to B coins and excluded accordingly:

BMC 586, 728-31, 541, 563-5, 656-7, 750, 775.

The following coins, once believed to be mules, have been identified as being of a true class:

BMC 189-90, 313, 605.

TABLE 5. The percentage of muling between a class and other previous classes.
(source: BMC and F. Elmore Jones Plates)

<i>latest class/muled with previous classes</i>	<i>Number of mules</i>	<i>Mules/Coins of latest Class</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
B/A	5	5/91	5%
C/A,B	25	25/295	8%
D/A,B,C	4	4/148	3%
E/A,B,C,D	10	10/83	12%
E/A,B,C	6	6/83	7%

The lower proportion of mules between Class D and classes prior to it (3%) suggests that it represents a administrative reform through a withdrawal of previous dies, as well as a significant change in design. D.F. Allen suggested that there may have been an inquisition of moneyers before Class D.³² However, the high proportion of Class E dies muled with earlier dies excluding D (7%) contradicts this conclusion. An explanation may be that because Class D was a reform of the design, new pairs were sent to the mints, but the older dies were retained to be brought into use as need dictated.

Index of Survival

Index of Survival is the ratio of coins:estimated dies. A comparison between the Indices of Survival for each of the classes in Table 6 indicates their survival rate in a way that a comparison between the numbers of surviving coins does not, as numbers of dies (which are an indication of output) for each individual class are taken into account.

TABLE 6. The Index of Survival of the Classes of the Cross-and-Crosslets type.
(surviving coins/estimated dies, source: Metcalf 1977.)

<i>Class</i>	<i>Surviving coins/Estimated dies</i>	<i>Index of Survival for the Classes</i>
Class A	523/559	0.94
Class B	91/85	1.07
Class C	259/223	1.11
Class D	148/114	1.30
Class E	83/115	0.72
Class F	144/238	0.60

Therefore, Table 6 shows that given a random sample of coins those of Class F are twice as likely to be from previously unknown dies as those of Class C: its Index of Survival is around half that of C. This implies that our knowledge of Classes B, C and D is really very good compared with that of E and F. Owing to the fact that the output for each of the classes effects their 'Index of Survival', and that output hinges on duration of issue, the subject shall be laid aside here and reconsidered after a thorough investigation of the chronology for each of the classes.

The Chronology

The problems of interpretation surrounding the Pipe Roll entries

G.C. Brooke was the first to propose an internal chronology for the type.³³ This was applied to the known groups of that time, and was based on various Pipe Roll entries relating to mints

³² BMC Henry II, p. clxxvii.

³³ Brooke, as in n. 2, p. 334.

and moneyers. Brooke's theories were extended by the *BMC* of the series published after his untimely death. D.F. Allen established the current classification for this coinage in 1951, and divided the coins into six classes. Allen's chronology, like Brooke's, was based largely on the interpretation of Pipe Roll entries,³⁴ but included those relating to *Defalta Monetarium*.³⁵ Martin Allen discussed the chronology of the coinage in relation to the Durham mint, demonstrating that the Pipe Rolls do not provide rigid dates, rather they make it possible to state a likely *terminus ante quem* or *terminus post quem*.³⁶

TABLE 7. Chronology of the classes of Henry II's Cross-and-Crosslets type.

Class	Brooke, 1927	D.F. Allen, 1951	Martin Allen, 1994	Crafter preferred
Class A	c. 1158–62/4	1158–61	1158–c. 1161?	1158–c. 1163
Class B	c. 1158–62/4	1161–65	c. 1161–5x9?	c. 1162–c. 1163
Class C	c. 1162/4–67	1161–65	c. 1161–5x9?	c. 1163–c. 1167
Class D	c. 1167–80	1165–68	c. 1165x9?–c. 1172	c. 1167–c. 1170
Class E	c. 1167–80	1168–70	c. 1172–?	c. 1170–c. 1174
Class F	c. 1167–80	1170–80	?–1180	c. 1174–1180

The Pipe Rolls supply rough dates which any chronology must take into account, but what the scanty information implies is often difficult to pin down. Martin Allen's example of Elverdus Porrere (Alferg or Alfehng on the coins) at Canterbury illustrates this problem well.³⁷ The minting rights for the Abbey of St. Augustin ended when it was seized by the king on the death of Abbot Sylvester in 1161,³⁸ but the moneyer, Elverdus Porrere, could have ceased to coin years before, or continued to strike for the king.³⁹ These difficulties of interpretation are all too apparent in the Pipe Rolls entries for Colchester and Newcastle/Carlisle and are discussed fully below. The commencement of the Cross-and-Crosslets type occurred in 1158, as established by Lawrence and Brooke on the basis of reports in contemporary chronicles, and supported by the levying of taxes on moneyers and boroughs in 1158–59 (Pipe Roll 5 Hen. II) concerning the termination of Stephen's last type at the introduction of the new coinage.⁴⁰ Table 8 is an attempt to set out clearly how D.F. Allen reached the dating conclusions which lead to the chronology as set out in the *BMC*.

D.F. Allen also cites the fact that in 1167–68 ten moneyers of London were charged with a marriage tax, to raise money for the marriage of the Matilda, the king's daughter, to Henry the Lion of Germany. Allen suggested that Class D was in issue at that time, as this class alone is known for seven out of nine moneyers.⁴¹

Pipe Roll notes (BMC Henry II, p. lxx) :

- Class A2 was probably being struck before 1161–62, when Willelm of Wilton could no longer be found.
- Classes A2 and B1 or B2 were being struck before 1162–63, when Gillebert of Norwich had absconded to Essex.
- Class A2 was being struck before 1163–64, when Ricard of Norwich had fled to Scotland.
- Class A2 was in issue in 1161, when Alferg of Canterbury ceased to coin.
- Class B or C was in issue in 1161–62 or soon after, that being the date when the mint of Ipswich opened.
- Class D was being struck before 1174–75, when Herebert of York was dead or in exile.

³⁴ *BMC Henry II*, pp. lxx–lxxii.

³⁵ *BMC Henry II*, p. lxxvi. This system is explained and the evidence discussed below.

³⁶ M. Allen, as in n. 6, p. 393.

³⁷ Allen, as in n. 6, p. 392–3.

³⁸ *William Thorne's Chronicles of St. Augustin's Abbey, Canterbury*, translated by A.H. Davis (Oxford, 1934), p. 94.

³⁹ However, the latter situation is unlikely to have occurred as the revenue would have accrued to the crown and been recorded in the Pipe Rolls. The rents of the archbishopric were in the king's hands between 1164 and 1173, see *BMC Henry II*, p. cxix.

⁴⁰ Brooke, as in n. 2, p. 327; and *BMC Henry II*, pp. lxxiv–v.

⁴¹ *BMC Henry II*, pp. lxxviii–lxx. The number may include exchangers at the mint.

- (g) Class D was being struck before 1168–69, when Accard of London went crusading. Class D and E were being struck before 1171–72, when Johannes Peucier and Petrus Merefin were dead.
- (h) Class E was probably being struck at Colchester before 1167–68, the year in which the mint closed.
- (i) Class F was probably being struck before 1173, when Willelm FitzErembald finally ceased to pay off his debts.
- (j) Class C was probably being struck in 1164–65, when Robert of Ipswich first became a moneyer.

TABLE 8. D.F. Allen's dating conclusions from the Pipe Rolls.

Class	Pipe Roll notes	Date suggested by Pipe Roll entry	Allen, 1951	Widest Possible dates for the Class
A	(a)	1161–62	1158–61	1158 – c. 1161 x c. 1163
	(b)	before 1162–63		
	(c)	before 1163–64		
	(d)	in issue 1161		
B	(b)	before 1162–63	1161–65	c. 1161 x c. 1162
	(e)	1161–62 or soon after		– c. 1162 x c. 1163
C	(e)	1161–62 or soon after	1161–65	c. 1161 x c. 1164
	(j)	in issue 1164–65		– c. 1165 x c. 1168
D	(f)	before 1174–75	1165–68	c. 1165 x c. 1167
	(g)	before 1168–69		– c. 1168 x c. 1170
	(g)	before 1170–71		
E	(g)	before 1170–71	1168–70	c. 1167 x c. 1170
	(h)	before 1167–68		– c. 1170 x c. 1173
F	(i)	before 1173	1170–80	c. 1170 x c. 1173 – c. 1179 x 1180

An explanation of the system of Defalta Monetarium and the problems associated with its evidence

During the Cross-and-Crosslets period six boroughs operated the system of *Defalta Monetarium*. Under this system the towns paid the crown an annual fee, through the sheriff, for the right of having a particular number of moneyers, usually fixed at £1 per moneyer.⁴² If moneyers did not operate the town obtained a rebate from the crown. The evidence of mint activity from these six boroughs subject to the system is very uncertain and relies on the premise that when a rebate was granted in full, no moneyers were striking coins. Using this premise, a period where the rebate was granted in full, combined with the last class (or first class) each mint is known to have struck, leads to a date at which that class had to have been struck.⁴³ Allen noted that the evidence of the coins could not easily be reconciled with the Pipe Roll evidence.⁴⁴

There are also problems of the exact complement of moneyers at Ipswich and Thetford, whether there were ecclesiastical dies at Norwich, Winchester and York, which may or may not have been recorded as part of the system of *Defalta Monetarium*; and if the baronial dies at Ipswich are additional. In conclusion, this is not sound evidence by any means and should be treated with the caution afforded to the Pipe Rolls in general. The figures refer only to Royal moneyers, and to those that are indicated in the Pipe Rolls, whilst baronial and ecclesiastical moneyers may have been exempt from this system altogether. Some of the mints

⁴² *BMC Henry II*, pp. lxxvii–lxxxii.

⁴³ *BMC Henry II*, p. lxxii.

⁴⁴ *BMC Henry II*, p. lxxii.

may have had other moneyers working as well, which accounts for the excess of working moneyers over those known.

TABLE 9. Period of *Defalta Monetarium* entries in the Pipe Rolls indicating no activity at the mint, in relation to the first and last class known of each mint.

Mint	Period when, according to the Pipe Rolls no moneyers at a work.	Pipe Rolls	First Class/Last Class of mint
Colchester	1167/8–1179–80	14 Hen II–26 Hen II	Class A/Class E
Ipswich	1157/8–1160/1	4 Hen II–7 Hen II	Class B/Class F
	1177/8–1179–80	24 Hen II–26 Hen II	
Norwich	1176/7–1179–80	23 Hen II–26 Hen II	Class A/Class D
Thetford	1179–80	26 Hen II	Class A/Class F
Winchester	—	—	Class A/Class E
York	1179–80	26 Hen II	Class A/Class D

The importance of the Mint of Colchester in the chronology: a re-evaluation of the evidence

The one piece of dating evidence that is central to the whole chronology is that of the mint of Colchester. The town had an allowance for *Defalta Monetarium*, so that when any of the town's complement of four moneyers was not striking the town obtained a rebate of £1 per moneyer. From Pipe Roll entries of 1166/7 (13 Hen II) to 1179/80 (26 Hen II), allowances made to the sheriff were increased from 60s. to £4. This has been interpreted to mean that the mint was entirely inoperative during those years.⁴⁵ The conclusion has subsequently been drawn that the latest coins of Class E were struck 1167/8⁴⁶ and that subsequently the mint was closed,⁴⁷ but as has been seen the problems of the Pipe Rolls and the lack of correspondence to the coins leave an impression of doubt.

This conclusion is quite valid if the assumptions are correct. Mayhew was the first to raise concern about the validity of this conclusion, pointing out the lack of correspondence between the coins and *Defalta Monetarium* entries, suggesting that the problem may lie in the chronology.⁴⁸ At Colchester only Alwin is known from both the Pipe Rolls and the coins, and his latest coins are of Class C. There is no evidence in the Pipe Rolls of a moneyer called Pieres, whose latest coins are of Class E. Alwin and Pieres both strike Class C, and yet the lowest allowance made to the sheriff is of 60s., indicating that only one moneyer was active. In theory the two moneyers could have operated in succession, but this would mean within a time frame of 1161–1167 in which classes C, D, and E were struck. This is the chronology that Allen proposed, but when the evidence of *Defalta Monetarium* was tabulated Class E is dated to 1170–72, outside the chronology of c. 1168–70.⁴⁹

Of the two active moneyers of Colchester, only Alwin is recorded in the Pipe Rolls and only one is recorded in the evidence for *Defalta Monetarium*. This evidence implies the closing of the town's mint in 1167/8 and it is reasonable that this closing affected Alwin; as his last class was Class C this class can reasonably be said to have terminated in c. 1167. Pieres' coins of Class C are from irregular dies, and presumably he was not recorded then or later when at work in Class E.

⁴⁵ Carlyon Britton, as in n. 4, p. 189.

⁴⁶ *BMC Henry II*, p. cxxix and pp. lxxix–lxxx.

⁴⁷ *BMC Henry II*, p. cxxix.

⁴⁸ Mayhew, as in n. 5 pp. 88–9.

⁴⁹ *BMC Henry II*, p. lxxxii.

The use of the entry relating to Colchester to date Class E to 1167–68 condensed the first five classes into the first ten years, and left *at least* another ten for the issue of Class F. The marriage tax of 1167/68 does not conflict with this suggestion that Class C terminated in c. 1167, implying a connection between the tax and the reform of the dies in Class D.⁵⁰ At the Durham mint Class C is only struck by the moneyer Cristien. Cristien is referred to in Reginald's *Libellus* (chapter 95) of which the first 111 chapters were probably completed by January 1167; this evidence is consistent with the dating of Class C to in or before 1167.⁵¹

The importance of the 1173/4 rebellion against Henry II for the chronology, with particular reference to the composition of the hoards and their connection with the itinerary of forces

If the dating constraint of 1167/8 is changed from Class E to C, then it is necessary to investigate what evidence there is for the dating of Classes E and F. In these classes the numbers of mints and moneyers were reduced overall in England. The group is the same as Class D, but the style of workmanship is markedly poorer. The most noticeable and important point concerning these two classes is the rarity of Class E at East Anglian mints, and Class F is particularly common at Ipswich. It is suggested in the *BMC* that Class E is rare because it was in issue during the Rebellion of the Young King of 1173, and that F is common owing to the fines exacted on the region in its aftermath,⁵² although it was not dated so. Several hoards which contain all classes except F have been found in troubled areas, or in proximity to routes of forces in 1173/4 (see Figs 2 and 3). Of these hoards Wicklewold, Norfolk, is perhaps the most significant as it probably represents savings over twenty-five years or more, which stop abruptly in Class E.⁵³ It might have been buried for safety by its owner, or perhaps plundered by mercenaries, but what should be noted is its location south-west of Norwich. Hugh Bigod with Flemish mercenaries captured Norwich in 1174, and Henry II's force passed through the region from Huntingdon to attack Bungay the same year.⁵⁴ Nor in the Brackley, Northamptonshire, hoard is Class F represented, but as it comprised only thirteen coins one cannot place too much weight upon it.⁵⁵ (See Appendix for the full list of hoards and the references.) However, in the context of its location it is possible to draw a connection between its deposition or non-recovery and the events of 1173/4.⁵⁶ The latest coins in the West Meon, Hampshire, hoard are of Class E, and the East Anglian bias of the hoard suggests that the coins, or a majority of them, had reached West Meon from that area of disturbance.⁵⁷ The Bramham Moor, Yorkshire, hoard may have a connection with the war against Roger Mowbray, although nothing is known about the contents of this hoard. Similarly the Outchester hoard's location of deposition could be linked with Richard de Lucy's northern expedition that burned Berwick, but this is only a tentative suggestion given the information available.

⁵⁰ *BMC Henry II*, p. lxxviii–lxxx (g). The facts suggest but do not prove that the most likely class to have been in issue in 1167–8, at the time when the London moneyers were charged with the tax, is D.

⁵¹ Allen, as in n. 6, p. 394.

⁵² *BMC Henry II*, p. xliii, and p. clxxvii.

⁵³ Christie's Sale Catalogue, Tuesday, 15 May 1990, p. 14.

⁵⁴ For the history of the 1173/4 rebellion see H.W.C. Davis, *England Under the Normans and Angevins*, Chapter

IX 'The Sons of Henry II'; A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087–1216*, p.277 (for the Scottish border) and pp. 335–7 (for England); Mrs J.R. Green, *Henry the Second*, Chapter IX, 'The Revolt of the Baronage' pp. 170–87.

⁵⁵ Marion M. Archibald and B. J. Cook, *English Medieval Coin Hoards 1*, unpublished.

⁵⁶ Archibald and Cook, as in n. 55.

⁵⁷ Archibald and Cook, as in n. 55.



Fig. 2. Map of the location of British hoards containing coins of the Cross-and-Crosslets Type.

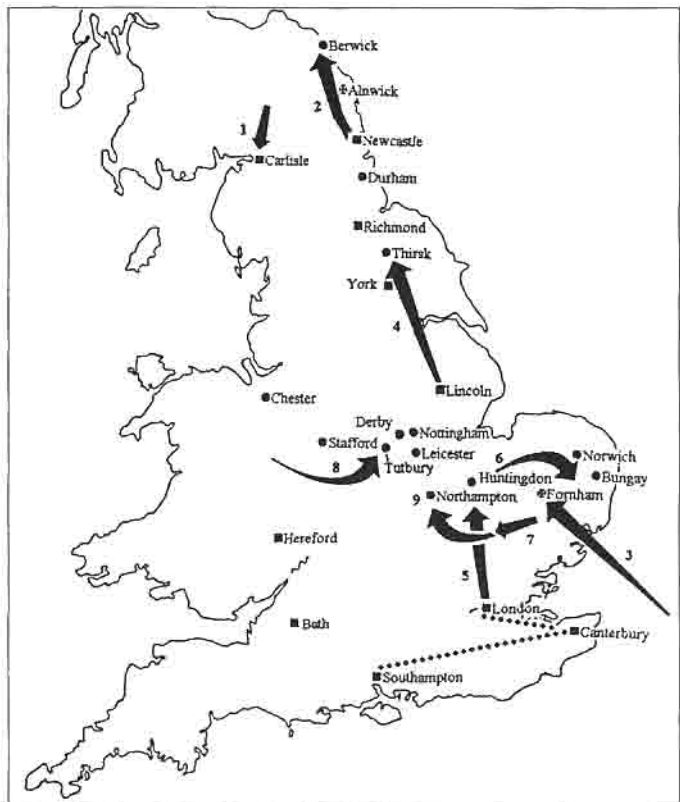


Fig. 3. Map of the routes of forces during the 1173/4 Rebellion against Henry II.

<i>Number on Map</i>	<i>Itinerary of Force</i>
1	Scots capture Carlisle, 1173.
2	Richard de Lucy's expedition into Lothian captures and burns Berwick.
3	Flemish mercenaries land at Walton, Suffolk, under the Earl of Leicester, but are defeated at Forham St. Genevieve a few miles north of Bury St. Edmunds. In the following year Flemish under Hugh Bigod capture Norwich (not shown).
4	Geoffrey, illegitimate son of Henry II and Bishop elect of Lincoln, moves against and crushes Roger Mowbray.
...	Henry II's route of return from the continent in 1174: Southampton 8th July; pays penance at the tomb of Becket, Canterbury, London 14th July.
5	18th July 1174 Henry II marches north from London with a force to join the forces besieging Huntingdon.
6	The king's army then moves against Bungay and Bigod's other Suffolk castles.
7 and 9	Henry II marches from Suffolk to Northampton where he holds court on 31 July 1174 and receives the submission of the earls.
8	Henry II's Welsh allies attack Tutbury, a stronghold of the Earl of Ferrers

It is therefore suggested that Class E was in issue in 1173/4 and that Class F had a shorter duration, commencing after the rebellion. The baronage did not have time during the rebellion to usurp royal power for themselves as they had during Stephen's reign, although attention is drawn in the *BMC* to the possibility that certain baronial coins were struck during the insurrection, but the author does not elaborate.⁵⁸

D.F. Allen's suggestion of the termination of the mints of Newcastle and Carlisle re-evaluated

The northern mints of Newcastle and Carlisle were run jointly by one moneyer, who farmed the mint and the silver and lead mines at Alston Moor, Northumberland.⁵⁹ The bullion supply had been dwindling since the beginning of the twelfth century, and across Europe new sources of silver were being sought.⁶⁰ The mines at Alston Moor represent the only silver mines within the Angevin Empire at that time, so it is likely that Henry would have attached special importance to them.

It has been suggested that the moneyer, Willelm FitzErembald, could not have been minting after 1173 as he was hopelessly in debt,⁶¹ but there seems to be no substantial evidence put forward for this cut-off point. It seems unlikely that Henry II would have allowed the valuable silver mines on Alston Moor to remain inactive for seven years. Added to this it should be noted that Willelm still held the tenure of the mines up until early 1180, and during that time continued to be burdened with the farm of both the mint and the mines, which from 1165–6 to 1179–80 stood at £366 6s. 8d.⁶² The conditions of confusion that so marred the English minting activities of the 1170s make it quite conceivable that coins were still being minted by Willelm until 1180 and the commencement of the Short Cross coinage. Coins of Class F are common from Newcastle and Carlisle.

From the evidence evaluated above it seems likely that Class C terminated in c. 1167, Class E was in issue during the 1173/4 rebellion and Class F commenced after it. Table 10 shows this evidence together with the other Pipe Roll dating conclusions.

⁵⁸ *BMC Henry II*, p. xiii. However Allen suggests that the coins attributed to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, in the reign of Stephen (Brooke, *BMC Norman Kings*, p. xcvi C(a) and p. 139) were perhaps struck c. 1173 for Henry the Young King, son of Henry II (*BMC Henry II*, p. I and footnote). R.P. Mack did not concur with this view in his paper 'Stephen and the Anarchy', *BNJ* 35 (1966) p. 99.

⁵⁹ *BMC Henry II*, p. xcvi, also pp. cxlii–vii.

⁶⁰ P. Spufford, *Money and its use in Medieval Europe*, Chapter 5 'New Silver', and map p. 110.

⁶¹ *BMC Henry II*, p. lxix; this statement tallies badly with the conclusion on p. lxx.

⁶² *BMC Henry II*, p. cxv.

TABLE 10. Dating evidence from the Pipe Rolls, some of which adjusted, together with other evidence of the status and order of the classes and the impact of the 1173/4 rebellion.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Pipe Roll notes</i>	<i>Suggested dating conclusion from evidence</i>	<i>Widest Possible dates for the classes</i>	<i>Crafter preferred</i>
A	(a)	in or before 1162–63	1158 – c. 1161 x c. 1163	1158 – c. 1163
	(b)	in or before 1163–64		
	(c)	in or before 1164–65		
	(d)	in or before 1161		
	(k)	see note below		
B	(b)	in or before 1163–64	c. 1161 x c. 1162 – c. 1162 x c. 1163	c. 1162 – c. 1163
	(e)	1161–62 or soon after		
	(l)	around end of Class A		
C	(e)	1161–62 or soon after	c. 1161 x c. 1164 – c. 1167	c. 1163 – c. 1167
	(j)	1164–65 or soon after		
	(m)	terminates c. 1167		
	(n)	in or before January 1167		
D	(f)	in or before 1175–76	c. 1167 – c. 1168 x c. 1170	c. 1167 – c. 1170
	(g)	in or before 1169–70		
	(g)	in or before 1171–72		
	(o)	in or before 1167–68		
E	(g)	in or before 1171–72	c. 1169 x c. 1170 – c. 1170 x c. 1174	c. 1170 – c. 1174
	(p)	in or before 1174		
F	(q)	in 1174 or soon after	c. 1174 – c. 1179 x 1180	c. 1174 – 1180

Notes on Table 10

Information in the Pipe Rolls was recorded between the middle of the accounting year, which ended at Michaelmas (29 September), and the summer of the following year. For example, the 1161–62 Roll was compiled in 1162–63.

(a)–(g) and (j) See Table 8 (above).

(k) The theory that the early Cross-and-Crosslets classes were subject to a system of design changes every three or four years, following the Anglo-Saxon and early Norman system of frequent periodic recoinages, is not valid as the system (whose extent is not fully understood) was abandoned in 1125 or shortly afterwards.

(l) Class B is contemporaneous with A and not C.

(m) Class C terminates at the closing of Colchester in Pipe Roll 14 Henry II (1167/68).

(n) Cristien of Durham referred to as moneyer in Reginald's *Libellus*, which was probably completed by January 1167.

(o) The 1167/68 Marriage tax is levied about the same time as the introduction of Class D.

(p) Class E is in issue during the 1173/74 East Anglian Rebellion.

(q) Class F is introduced after the 1173/74 Rebellion.

The new chronology compared with the previous one in terms of output of the coinage, using statistics from Metcalf 1977

With a new chronology established from the documentary evidence, it can be compared with the previous one in terms of output of the coinage. In Metcalf's estimation of the number of dies, a histogram was drawn on the basis of D.F. Allen's chronology and order of the classes, and of the number of dies per class. This histogram is reproduced as Figure 4, and Figure 5 shows another using Metcalf's die estimates with the author's preferred ordering of the classes and chronology.

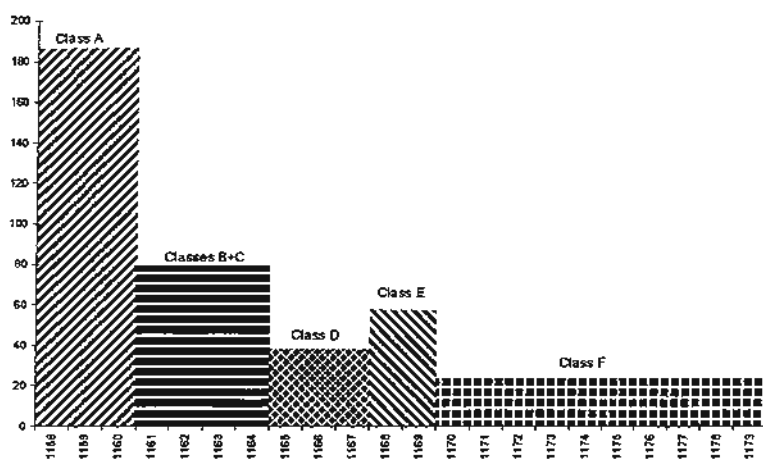


Fig. 4. Histogram of Classes and Dies reproduced from Metcalf 1977, p. 29, which uses Allen's Chronology and order of the classes.⁶³

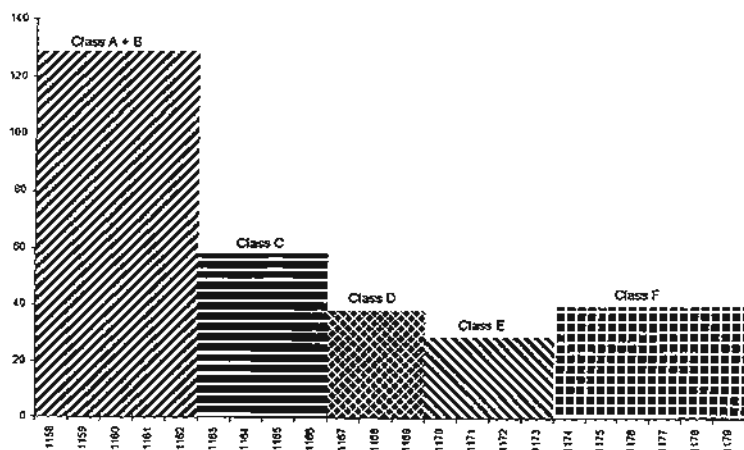


Fig. 5. Histogram of Classes and Dies according to Crafter's preferred ordering and chronology.

As the number of dies is a reflection of output, it is possible to compare the trends produced by each chronology. For both histograms Class C is similar and Class D is the same, but Fig. 5 suggests more sustained activity over a longer period for Classes A and E. When depicted on the histogram, the two year duration that Allen assigned to Class E implies that mint output was quite prolific for the short period. Fig. 5 implies a more even output for classes D, E and F. (It should be noted that the small decline in Class E may not be significant since, if Class E's duration was extended by six months to a year, classes E and F would have almost equal levels.) What can be said about these results is that the new chronology implies a more even output after the end of the initial recoinage of 1158.

⁶³ As the chronology is only approximate, the years are given as those of the commencement of Pipe Roll terms, thus

1179 begins in September of that year and runs until September 1180.

An explanation of the use of Single-Find evidence for a chronology; and the bias of the sample

When the evidence of single finds for the volume of the currency and the internal chronology is considered, the Cross-and-Crosslets type poses some of the most difficult problems of any English series in the twelfth century. The theory behind their use is that single finds represent random loss from circulation.

There are major difficulties to note when dealing with Cross-and-Crosslets single find evidence:

- (i) Only a small minority of single finds are recorded.
- (ii) A large proportion of those recorded are misclassified.
- (iii) Some coins are too badly preserved to make classification possible.
- (iv) Frequent periodic recoinages were now totally abandoned, therefore the series was struck for twenty-two years, and it is possible that some coins circulated for longer.⁶⁴ In order to use the single find evidence we need to know how long coins of a particular class remained in circulation

Although these problems cannot easily be tackled, it is nevertheless worth exploring the single find evidence further.

TABLE 11. Single finds of the Cross-and-Crosslets Type

Sources:	BNJ	SgFd	Excav.	SCBI	MJB	Unpub.	Totals
Class A	7	2	—	2	3	2	16
Class B	2	—	1	—	—	1	4
Class C	7	1	—	2	1	5	16
Class D	4	—	—	—	—	1	5
Class E	3	—	—	—	2	1	6
Class F	7	—	—	3	4	—	14
Uncertain Class	16	4	2	4	—	2	28
Counterfeit	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Totals	47	7	3	9	10	12	90

Total excluding coins of uncertain class and counterfeits: 61

Notes on the sources

BNJ *British Numismatic Journal*, 1987–94, Coin Register.

SgFd 'Single-Finds of Anglo Saxon and Norman Coins' 1 (BNJ 1984), no.25; 2 (BNJ 1985) no.22 and 43–44; 3 (BNJ 1986), no. 102 and 139.

Excav. York excavation report.

SCBI *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, vol. 26, *Museums of East Anglia*, Number 1487. vol. 42, *South-Eastern Museums: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and later coins to 1279*, Numbers 1963; 1964; 1997–2001; 2003.

vol. 48, *Northern Museums: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet coins to 1279*, Numbers 1367; 1375.

MJB Information kindly provided by Mr M.J. Bonser.

Unpub. 'Single Finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins' 4, I am grateful to Dr Mark Blackburn for letting me see the manuscript and providing information on five other unpublished single finds.

⁶⁴ The coinage was demonetised some time before Pipe Roll 34 Hen. II. see *BMC Henry II.* p. lxxiv.

TABLE 12. The Index of Survival of 61 classifiable single finds.⁶⁵

	Class A	Class B	Class C	Class D	Class E	Class F
Number of coins (Table 5)	16	4	16	5	6	14
Percentage of Single Finds	26%	7%	26%	8%	10%	23%
Estimated dies (Metcalf 1977)	559	85	223	114	115	238
Index of Survival	0.029	0.047	0.067	0.044	0.052	0.059

Within any class, the number of finds should reflect the number of coins in circulation and the duration of circulation. Thus coins of Class A could in theory have circulated for up to twenty-two years, whereas coins of Class F could not have circulated for more than some six years. However account must be taken of wastage from the currency. In theory it should be possible to work out an average wastage rate from the hoards. The single find evidence for this coinage is almost certainly biased. For Class A one would expect the number of single finds to be high as it circulated the longest.⁶⁶

The Hoard Evidence: the models of composition of the currency and wastage from circulation

The evidence of the partially recorded hoards can be unfairly distorted in favour of one type. In this series the recording of hoards is often now very good, but the largest hoards were found in the last century when recording was not so meticulous. Of c. 6000 coins in the Tealby hoard of 1807 all but around 750 were melted down at the Tower.⁶⁷ The majority of the pieces that remain are of Class A, but this was probably not the case of the hoard as a whole, which was buried c. 1180. The coins were selected by Taylor-Combe on the basis of the legibility of the mint signature, which would favour the better struck coins of Class A.⁶⁸

To determine the composition of the circulating coinage at the time of a hoard's deposit is extremely complicated, but the 'Index of Survival' can be used satisfactorily. As the figure represents the ratio of coins:estimated dies, the Index of Survival for a currency hoard indicates the composition of the currency at a given date and the prevalence of the classes, in a way that plotting the actually number of coins would not. This is clear from the Leicester hoard where the numbers of coins of Class B is small compared with A, but its survival rate is better than coins of Class A (see Table 13).

TABLE 13. The Index of Survival in two fully recorded hoards.

Class	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
Estimated total dies (Metcalf)	559	85	223	114	115	238	1344
<i>Lark Hill, Worcester hoard</i>							
Number of coins	77	14	39	43	30	2	208
Index of Survival	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.37	0.26	0.01	0.17
<i>Leicester hoard</i>							
Number of coins	25	8	39	15	15	58	238
Index of Survival	0.04	0.09	0.16	0.13	0.13	0.24	0.18

⁶⁵ Index of Survival is the ratio of coins to estimated dies. A comparison between the Indices of Survival for the classes indicates their survival rate in a way that a comparison between the numbers of surviving coins does not, as numbers of dies (which are an indication of output) for each individual class are taken into account (see section 'The Status of the Classes' above).

⁶⁶ Allen noted the lack of cut coins of the later (and more ill-struck) classes, *BMC Henry II*, p. clxxvii. If Class A coins

were cut more, and cut coins are eschewed by recorders of finds this might compensate for the figure.

⁶⁷ For the probable content and fate of this hoard see C. Sturman, 'Sir Joseph Banks and the Tealby hoard', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 24 (1989), 51-2.

⁶⁸ R. H. M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'A Parcel of Cross-and-Crosslets Pence from the Tealby Find', *BNJ* 29 part 1 (1958), 82-6 at p. 82.

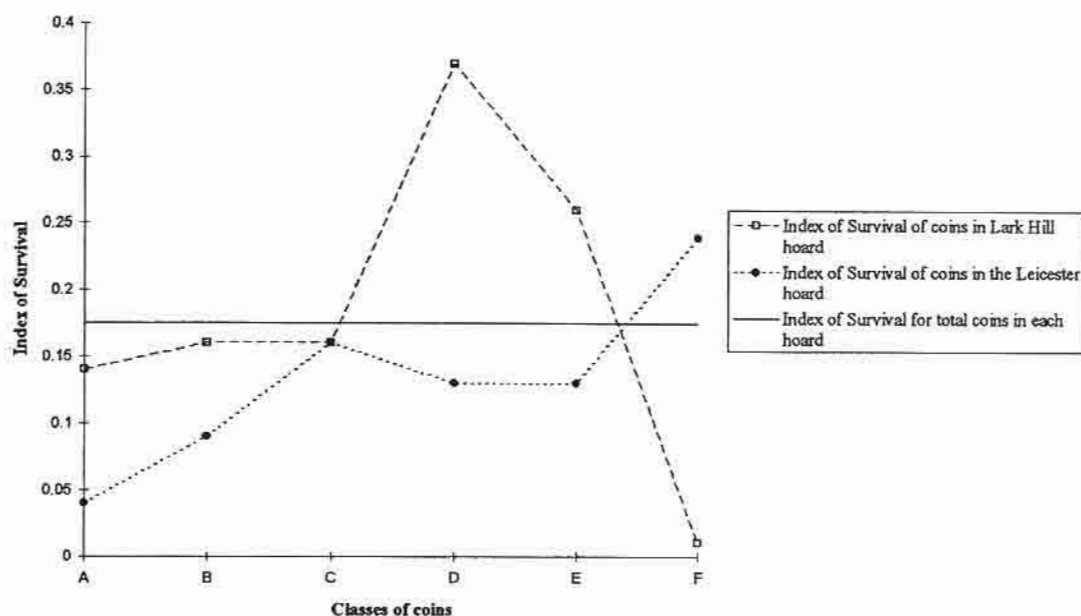


Fig. 6. The Index of Survival of the various classes represented in the Lark Hill and Leicester hoards.

When the Index of Survival for the hoard as a whole is plotted as a straight line, the figures for the individual classes and whether they are above or below it will, in theory, indicate whether the hoard is a currency or savings hoard. The Index of Survival for a currency hoard is useful for determining the wastage rate, as the figures will represent the composition of the circulating coinage around the time of deposition.

The method indicates that currency and savings hoards can be distinguished, but the evidence is insufficient to enable conclusions to be drawn concerning wastage.

The Lark Hill and Leicester hoards are of very similar size and the Index of Survival for the both hoards is around 0.175. Figure 6 illustrates the difference in the rate of class survival of the hoards. From examination of these figures it is suggested that the Leicester hoard is a currency hoard, as Class F is the only class of coins which has a survival rate that exceeds that of the hoard in its totality. The Lark Hill hoard by comparison shows some savings element. If the Leicester hoard was buried during the late 1170s and its contents are a random sample then the hoard represents a snapshot of the composition of the currency at that time. From the Index of Survival of the various classes it is possible to say that the wastage from the coinage of Class A coins was high in proportion to the output (compare Fig. 5) by the late 1170s. The wastage of coins of classes C, D and E as a proportion of the falling output across these classes is of an even level (compare Fig. 4). The Index of Survival for Class F is high and of a level one would expect if the hoard was assembled during this class. Unfortunately, at present there are an insufficient number of hoards that have been adequately recorded and published to be able to determine wastage rates of the Cross-and-Crosslets coinage adequately. As further hoards are discovered and recorded in totality, it is to be hoped that a comparison can be made by using the method outlined above. In this way it should be possible to establish the wastage rate from currency hoards and thus allow the Single Find evidence to be adequately used to investigate the validity of the new proposed chronology.

TABLE 14. British and Continental Hoards containing coins of the Cross-and-Crosslets type

<i>Place of discovery, county, date of discovery</i>	<i>date of deposition</i>	<i>Henry I</i>	<i>Stephen</i>	<i>Class A</i>	<i>Class B</i>	<i>Class C</i>	<i>Class D</i>	<i>Class E</i>	<i>Class F</i>	<i>uncertain class</i>	<i>Short Cross</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Awbridge, Hants., 1903	c. 1165	—	35	40	5	20	—	—	—	39	—	c. 180
2. Bramham Moor, Yorks., <1756	c. 1165	—	—	8	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	12?
3. London Bridge, c. 1850	?	—	3+	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	?
4. Outchester, N'humberland, 1817	c. 1173?	—	—	10	2	6	1	1	—	X	—	c. 1000
5. Royston, Cambs., 1721	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	?
6. Fornham, Suffolk, >1900	c. 1173	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20+	—	20+
7. Brackley, N'hampshire, 1986	c. 1173	—	—	3	1	5	2	2	—	—	—	13
8. Reach Fen, Cambs, c. 1900?	?	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	X	—	15+
9. Ellesborough, Bucks., 1777	c. 1173	—	—	4	2	3	1	2	—	—	—	11
10. Wicklewood, Norfolk, 1989 ²	c. 1173	17	324	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	482
11. West Meon, Hants., 1992 ²	c. 1173	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	34
12. Lark Hill, Worcester, 1853	c. 1175	—	—	77	8	39	43	30	2	3	—	229
13. Cuthurstone, Yorkshire, c. 1782 ¹	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1+?	—	?
14. Tealby, Lincolnshire, 1807	c. 1180	—	—	71	8	20	12	6	9	c. 5600	—	5731?
15. Mile Ditches, Cambs., 1978	c. 1180	—	—	2	—	1	1	—	3	1	—	8
16. Norton Subcourse, N'folk, 1987–90	c. 1180	—	—	12	2	11	3	—	7	6	?	41
17. Amphil, Beds., 1836	c. 1180	—	—	14	5	19	(46) ³	(46)	(46)	49	—	133
18. Leicester, Leics., 1927	c. 1180	—	—	25	8	39	15	15	58	—	—	238
19. Gayton, Northants., 1998 ²	c. 1180	—	—	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—	147
20. St. Thomas's Hos., London, 1863	c. 1185	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	28	30
21. Chinon, France, c. 1913	?	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	X	?	?
22. Scrabo Hill, Co. Down, 1855	c. 1180	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	50+
23. Come, Anger, France, c. 1930	c. 1180	—	—	7	—	4	1	4	—	—	—	16+
24. near Brussels, Belgium, c. 1987	c. 1185	—	—	3	—	1	1	3	8	—	—	60+
25. Isle of Man, pre-1769	c. 1180	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	7+
26. Daeli, Hedmark, Norway, 1840	c. 1200	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	c. 5000	—
27. Estonia, 1967	c. 1200	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	440
28. Rome, Italy, <1917	c. 1200	—	1	—	—	—	(9) ³	(9)	15	—	293	?
28a Near East ('Barbarossa Find')	c. 1190	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	16	?
28b Near Middlesborough, <1932	?	—	—	7	2	3	—	—	—	66?	—	78?

¹ It is uncertain whether this hoard contained any Cross-And-Crosslets coins at all, and indeed the exact location of Cuthurstone.² this hoard has not been analysed by class at this stage.³ Sets of bracketed figures in consecutive class columns indicate combined figures for those classes. The figures are excluded for the minimum recorded in hoards.

Conclusion

From Table 10 it is possible to conclude that, with the re-examined evidence of the Pipe Rolls and the evidence of the hoard deposits in the historical context, it seems that the chronology for the Cross-and-Crosslets type may be revised as follows- Class A c. 1158–c. 1163; Class B c. 1162–c. 1163; Class C c. 1163–c. 1167; Class D c. 1167–c. 1170; Class E c. 1170–c. 1173; Class F c. 1173–80. These are very close to the general dates proposed by Brooke, for his groups (cf. Table 7). It must be stressed that these dates are only approximate, and since no individual class represents sweeping reform of the mint system and muling is widespread in some classes, it would be irresponsible to suggest a rigid dating system. There is still much to be learned about the Cross-and-Crosslets type, and it remains to be seen how far the English fiscal system was altered as a precursor to the Short Cross coinage. The statistical evidence for the chronology is difficult to interpret owing to the unusual biases in this coinage. Through continuing endeavour to record hoards in full, and single finds accurately, however, it will hopefully be possible to apply the statistical methods outlined above so that it becomes possible to further our understanding of this difficult coinage and its significance in the context of the other coinages of the twelfth century.

KEY TO PLATE 6

1. Class A1 early, Lincoln, moneyer Raven. Obv. +HENRIREX[ANG]L; rev. +RAVEN:ON:[LIN]CO: (Crafter, die duplicate of F.E.J. plate 25/24 and H. Mossop, *The Lincoln Mint* (1970), plate XC, 11–12)
2. Class A1, Canterbury, moneyer Rogier. Obv. +HENRIR[EX-N]GL; rev. +R[OGI]ER:ON:[C]ANT (BM, catalogue 159)
3. Class A2, Canterbury, moneyer Rogier. Obv. +HENRIREX-[NGL]; rev. +ROGIER:ON:CAN (BM, catalogue 161)
4. Class A1, Newcastle, moneyer Willem. Obv. +HENRIREXANGL; rev. +WILLEM:[O]N:NEVCAS (BM, catalogue 583)
5. Class A2, Newcastle, moneyer Willem. Obv. +HENRIREXANGL; rev. +WILLEM:ON:NIVCA (BM, catalogue 584)
6. Class A1, Oxford, moneyer Adam. Obv. +HENRIREXANGL; rev. +ADAM:ON:OXENFO (BM, catalogue 687)
7. Class A2, Oxford, moneyer Adam. Obv. +HENRIREXANGL; rev. +ADAM:ON:OXENE (BM, catalogue 686)
8. Class A transitional, Winchester, moneyer Hosbert. Obv. +HENRIREXANGL; rev. +h[O]SBERT:ON:WIN (BM, catalogue 769)
9. Class A transitional, Wallingford, moneyer Fulke? Obv. +HENRIREXANGL; rev. +[]ON:WALI: (BM, catalogue 750)
10. Class A transitional, Wilton, moneyer Lantier. Obv. +HENRIREXANGL; rev. +LANTIER:[O]N:PILTV (BM, catalogue 754)
11. Class A transitional, London, moneyer Pieres Sal. Obv. +HENRIREXANGL; rev. +P—ES:SAL:ON:L[V]N: (BM, catalogue 546)
12. Class A2/A transitional, Exeter, moneyer Rogier. Obv. +HENRI[REX]ANGL; rev. +ROGIER:ON:EXCES (BM, catalogue 269)
13. Class A transitional, London, moneyer Wit. Obv. +HENRIREXANG; rev. +WID:ON:LVNDEN (BM, catalogue 572)
14. Class A transitional, Durham, moneyer Waltier. Obv. +HENRI[REX]ANGL; rev. +W[]—[]ER:ON:DVN: (BM, catalogue 257)
15. Class A transitional, Newcastle, moneyer Willem. Obv. +HENRIREXANGL; rev. +WILLEM:ON:NIVCA (Fitzwilliam Museum, BMC 586a)
16. Class B1, Canterbury, moneyer Ricard M. Obv. [+HENRI]REXANG; rev. [+R]ICARD:M:[O]N:CAN (Crafter, die duplicate of BMC 150)
17. Class C2, Newcastle, moneyer Willem. Obv. [+HENR]I:REX; rev. +PILLAM:[O]N:NE: (Crafter, die duplicate of BMC 589)
18. Class C3, Lincoln, moneyer Raven. Obv. [+HENRIRE]XANGL; rev. +RAVEN:ON:[LIN]CO[L] (BM, catalogue 424)

19. Class C3, Lincoln, moneyer Raven. Obv. [+h]ENREX[ANGL]; rev. [+RAVEN:ON:]LINCOL (Crafter; die duplicate of BMC 424; Mossop plate XC, 16 this coin; ex. Tealby hoard, 1807, *BNJ* 1958 part 1, p. 84, number 16, this coin)
20. Class C3, Exeter, moneyer uncertain. Obv. []EXS; rev. []R? []RL (or D):ON:X[SE—:] (BM, catalogue 273)
21. Class C3, Bury St. Edmunds, moneyer Henri. Obv. +hENR[]R[E?]; rev. [+hENR]R[ON:SED[M?]] (Crafter, die duplicate of F.E.J plate 13/21)
22. Class C3, Northampton, moneyer Warnier. Obv. [+hE]NRIREXANG; rev. +WARNIER:ON:N[—]A[] (BM, catalogue 637)
23. Class B3/A, Bristol, moneyer Tancard. Obv. +h[E]NRIR[EX] ANG; rev. +TANC[ARD:ON:BR]I (BM, catalogue 12)
24. Class B/C, Canterbury, moneyer Ricard. Obv. [+hE]NRIR[EXA] [NGL]; rev. +R[]C[ARD:ON:C[]A]N (BM, catalogue 101)
25. Class C/B, London, moneyer Alwine? Obv. +hENR:R:AG; rev. [—] :ON:LV[] (BM, catalogue 451)
26. Class D1, Ilchester, moneyer Adam. Obv. +hENRI:REX; rev. +ADAM:ON:IVEL: (BM, catalogue 295)
27. Class E, Colchester, moneyer Pieres. Obv. +hENRIRE; rev. +PI[] :ON:COL: (BM, catalogue 247)
28. Class F, Thetford, moneyer Willem. Obv. +hENRIREXAN; rev. +WILLEM:[ON]:TEF (BM, catalogue 742x)

APPENDIX: THE HOARDS

The *BMC* covers seventeen hoards known to Allen at the time, but the analysis table only deals with ten of these. This section is an attempt to deal with all twenty-eight known hoards and to break each down by class. The dates of deposit suggested in the table are only approximate. The following abbreviations are used:

BMC Henry II D.F. Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins in The British Museum: The Cross-and-Croslets ('Tealby') type of Henry II*. (London, 1951)

Inv. J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500* (London, 1956.)

Mack. R.P. Mack, 'Stephen and the Anarchy 1135–54', *BNJ* 35 (1966), pp. 38–112.

1. *Inv.* 16; H. A. Grueber, 'A Find of Coins of Stephen and Henry II at Awbridge, near Romsey' *NC* 4:5 (1905), pp. 354–63; *BMC Henry II*, pp. lvi–lvii.
2. *Inv.* 52; R. Wither and I. Ryall, 'Twelve Plates of English Silver Coins from the Norman Conquest to Henry VIII' (1756), Plate III; *BMC Henry II*, pp. xlvii–xlviii.
3. *Inv.* 246; Mack 104; C.E. Blunt, F. Elmore-Jones, and P.H. Robinson, 'On Some Hoards of the Time of King Stephen', *BNJ* 37 (1968), 35–42, at 41; *BMC Henry II*, p. liv.
4. *Inv.* 299; Mack 106; Metcalf, 'The Evidence of Scottish Coin Hoards', number 5; *BMC Henry II*, pp. xlix–lii.
5. *Inv.* 113; *BMC Henry II*, p. xlvii.
6. *Inv.* 165; *BMC Henry II*, p. lvii.
7. Unpublished information from Miss M.M. Archibald.
8. F. Elmore-Jones collection Sale Catalogue, Part III, lot 1702. Glendining's, 7/11/86. Possibly uncertain hoard (n) in *BMC Henry II*, pp. lvii–lviii.
9. *Inv.* 154; *BMC Henry II*, pp. xlviii; H.E. Pagan, 'Some hoard evidence for the Tealby Type of Henry II' *NCirc* volume 77, 1969, p. 163.
10. Unpublished; information Miss M.M. Archibald. 324 coins were sold by Christies, 15 May 1990, lots 1–159. (No Cross-and-Croslets type illustrated in sale catalogue.)
11. Unpublished; information Miss M.M. Archibald.
12. *Inv.* 381; *BMC Henry II*, pp. liv–lvi.
13. *Inv.* 319.
14. *Inv.* 352; *BMC Henry II*, pp. xlviii–xlix; C. Sturman, 'Sir Joseph Banks and the Tealby Hoard', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 24 (1989), pp. 51–2.
15. Unpublished information from Miss M.M. Archibald.
16. Unpublished information from Miss M.M. Archibald.
17. *Inv.* 7; *BMC Henry II*, pp. lii–liii.
18. *Inv.* 231; *BMC Henry II*, p. lix.
19. Unpublished joint work: T.C.R. Crafter and Gareth Williams.

20. *Inv.* 251; W. Boyne in *NC* 1863, pp.145 ff.; *BMC Henry II*, p. lvi.
21. *BMC Henry II*, p. lix.
22. *BMC Henry II*, p. lvi.
23. F. Elmore Jones, *NCirc* 1965, pp. 125–6.
24. A. Dawson and N. Mayhew, 'A Continental Find of Tealby Pennies', *BNJ* 57 (1987).
25. I. Stewart, 'An Eighteenth Century Manx Find of Scottish Sterlings', *BNJ* 33 (1964).
26. H. Holst, 'Funn av myntskatter i Norge innlil slutten av 19. arhundre', *Norisk Numismatisk Arsskrift* (1936), 5–26, at p. 14. B1: 'Mynter og myntilignende metallpreg fra de Britiske Oyer I norske funn, nedlagt etter ar 1100', *Norisk Numismatisk Arsskrift* (1939), 103–24, at pp. 110–12; *BMC Henry II*, pp. liii–liv.
27. *SCBI* Estonia (forthcoming).
28. *BMC Henry II*, p. lviii.
- 28a. See Ulrich Klein, in *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 65 (1986).
- 28b. Unpublished; information kindly provided by Bill Lean. Twelve coins classified provisionally are in the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough.

PLATE 6



CRAFTER: CROSS-AND-CROSSLETS TYPE

THE BURY COINAGE OF EDWARD I WITH THE NAME OF ROBERT DE HADELEIE

G.L.V. TATLER

(GEORGE Tatler died on 30 November 1998. The paper printed here is essentially the text he prepared for his lecture to the Society on 26 March 1974. Some textual amendments, appropriate to the production of a printed version, and the plates, have been added by Robin Eaglen and Peter Woodhead, as also have references to the North Sylloge.¹ This die study had been a major interest of Dr Tatler for many years and we can think of no better memorial to him than its publication in this volume.)

Background

Edward I was on his way back from Palestine when his father, Henry III, died on 16 November 1272. He landed at Dover on 2 August 1274 and was crowned at Westminster on 19 August. At first the coinage of the realm remained unchanged and coins continued to be struck in the name of Edward's father. The output of the mints during the first few years of the new reign was modest. In 1279 a complete recoinage was initiated. The Long Cross coinage which had served well for a generation had by now become so clipped and worn that sixteen pence in the pound could be lost in exchanging it.²

The first grant of the right to operate a moneyer at the abbey of Bury St Edmunds of which we have record was made by Edward the Confessor to Abbot Baldwin in 1065.³ This grant of a moneyer, who normally was to have one set of dies at a time, was confirmed by successive kings,⁴ and, except for certain periods of inactivity, particularly in the reigns of William II and Richard I, the mint struck most of the standard issues up to the early years of Edward III. The recoinage of 1279 was no exception to this, and a writ ordering dies to be prepared for John de Northwold, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, was issued on 8 November 1279⁵ and Robert de Hadeleie was sworn in as the abbot's moneyer in the Michaelmas term of that year.⁶

Abbot John asked the king for a 'standard' (or test piece of silver) and instructions as to the weight, purity and number of pennies to be struck out of a pound of silver. After a long discussion within the king's council, it was decided that he should be told the necessary details by word of mouth and ordered to make his money accordingly. These details were supplied by

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information particularly on weights and die identities.

¹ J.J. North, *Edwardian English Silver Coins 1279-1351* (*Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, 39), Oxford, 1989. Referred to in this paper as the 'North Sylloge'.

² H.B. Earle Fox and Shirley Fox, 'Numismatic History of the reigns of Edward I, II and III', *BNJ* 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (1910-15), referred to henceforth as 'Fox', app. XIX citing Wikes (Thomas Wykes (Wikes)), *Annales monasterii Oseneie et chronicon vulgo dictum chronicon Thomas Wykes*, edited by H. R. Luard, *Annales Monastici*, Chronicles and Memorials Series, vol. IV, London, 1869.

³ BL, Add. Ms 14847, fo. 31 (*Registrum Albani*).

⁴ There were two or three moneyers operating together under Henry I and Stephen (unpublished research).

⁵ 1279 CR 7 Edward I, no. 96 m.3. See Fox, app. XXXII.

⁶ BL Harl. Ms 645, fo. 117. See Fox, app. XXXVI.

Gregory de Rokesley on 8 June 1280 and minting operations commenced on 26 June.⁷ The coins which appeared did not, like all the others of the period, bear the name of the mint on the reverse but, instead, had that of Robert de Hadeleie.

That there were some apparent irregularities at the mint was evident from a commission to John de Lovetot and Gregory de Rokesley in July 1283.⁸ This was to enquire who were the moneyers who had made the king's money in the town of Bury St Edmunds and had falsified the die delivered there by the king; to examine the money coined by the said moneyers and also the dies in their possession, and to seize the latter if they were not satisfactory. The findings of the commission are not known but the results may not have been too drastic, for although it is not certain under what circumstances and when Robert de Hadeleie ceased to hold office, there is no record of another moneyer being appointed until 1287, when Richard de Lothbury, was sworn in.⁹

For many years the writer undertook a die study of all Robert de Hadeleie coins to which he had access. During this period at least 281 coins were located. All were recorded by photograph or by cast impression to reduce the possibility of the same coin being registered twice with different owners over the passage of time. These coins have manifested twenty obverse and thirty-five reverse dies, which are believed to have been the great majority of all the dies used for the total issue of coins with de Hadeleie's signature. A list of available information (1999) on locations and weights will be found in Appendix 1.

There is evidence that when dies were supplied from London they consisted of a set of one standard and two trussels¹⁰ and that, for Bury St Edmunds, a new die set was only issued when the old one was returned.¹¹ Thus it might be expected to find two reverse die impressions with each obverse and no die links between each set of dies, and two reverse dies have, indeed, been found with most of the obverse impressions. The few obverse dies that are only found with a single reverse die may be purely the result of chance due to the small sample of surviving coins from such obverses or perhaps because the other reverse die broke early. Although identification of the reverse dies of some coins is difficult because the resemblance of some dies within a set is very close, and the progressive emergence of flaws on dies can be confusing, in no case have more than two reverse dies been found struck with the same obverse. The findings, therefore, are fully compatible with the practice of a standard being issued with two trussels. However, there is one case where one of the two reverses (**d**₂) struck with an obverse die of a Fox 3g variety (**D**) is found struck with another obverse die (**R**) of the same Fox sub-group. The second obverse thus die-linked is only known from a single surviving coin in the British Museum. How such an event could have occurred in the light of the established practice of exchanging one complete set of dies for another is difficult to explain. The existence of a single known survivor may suggest that the life of that particular obverse die was short. If the die (**R**) fractured soon after it was put into use, the abbot may have returned it to London, retaining the trussels of the set to be used with the replacement standard (**D**) when it arrived. But this, of course, is pure conjecture.

With the exception of the product of one set of dies (**Gg**₁ and **g**₂) the surviving coins fit into the accepted classification of the Edwardian sterlings developed by Fox¹² and subsequently extended by North.¹³ The individual dies have been identified by labelling each one with a different letter of the alphabet. Upper case letters have been used for the obverse dies and lower case ones for the reverses. Thus the three dies of a set are readily identified by the use of the same letter, upper and lower case, with an arabic numeral subscript to distinguish

⁷ BL Harl. Ms 645, fo. 152. See Fox, app. XXXVII.

⁸ 1283 CPR Edward I, m. 13d. See Fox, app. XXXVIII.

⁹ BL Harl. Ms 645, fo. 153d. See Fox, app. XLVI.

¹⁰ BL Harl. Ms 645, fo. 152. See Fox, app. XXXVII.

¹¹ BL Harl. Ms 645, fo. 134b.

¹² Fox.

¹³ North Sylloge.

between the reverse impressions. The dies were selected for lettering by the arrangement of the first forty-one coins seen in this survey, in order of Fox sub-groups. This sample contained fifteen obverse dies. Coins seen subsequently have only produced five additional obverse dies, and no new ones have been discovered from the most recently located one hundred coins.

The final result of this lettering system is that the alphabetical sequence of the letters is not truly chronological. The last five letters (**P**, **Q**, **R**, **S** and **T**) were used to identify new dies in the order in which they were discovered. To have re-lettered the whole series in strictly alphabetical order would have created more problems than it would have solved, since, over the years many coins have attracted considerable notes within various collections and several hoards have been published with Robert de Hadeleie die identifications using the original lettering.¹⁴

To begin to analyse the dies, the coins are placed into Fox sub-groups as now extended by North. This immediately sorts the dies into small parcels. It can be difficult to distinguish different dies within the same sub-group, particularly when examining worn coins, and the process is time-consuming. The difficulty is most apparent when comparing some of the reverses. A careful examination of the impression created by the different irons used in the manufacture of the die is necessary. This enables distinctions to be made as, for example, in Fox class 3g, where a thick-waisted version of the letter **S** is found as well as one with a thin waist. Sometimes a die will show that a chipped or cracked punch has been used. Sometimes a letter has been punched twice into the same position to give, for example, the appearance of a double serif. The arrangement of the letters on the die may show characteristic spacing. A die may show, by the careful inspection of a series of impressions on different coins, the progressive appearance of flaws.

Many of the dies must have been used to strike large numbers of coins and consequently show signs of wear. However, none of this group shows evidence of rust. Maybe it was easier at a mint working with a single die set to clean and grease the standard and trussel after use. The whole sample is too small to permit a claim that the more worn dies struck significantly greater quantities of bullion than others. Inspection of the single surviving specimen struck from the die-linked reverse (**Rd**₂) shows that it was not struck from a worn obverse die, which may support the suggestion that the life of this particular die was relatively short.

The earliest coins that have been found accord to Fox class 3c and are identified as struck from dies **A** and **B**. Which die was the first to be used by Robert de Hadeleie is a matter of some conjecture. Fox discussed this problem at length¹⁵ and decided that it was, probably, what is referred to in this paper as the 'irregular' die **G**. At the time he came to his conclusions on his classification he was almost certainly unaware of the existence of class 3c coins from the mint, for in a footnote he mentioned that he had obtained a specimen too late for illustration. The coin was subsequently published in a supplementary plate in 1913¹⁶ and is struck from the dies **Bb**₁. Fox considered this to be the earliest coin of Robert de Hadeleie to exhibit regular official workmanship. Fox class 3c coins are also the first that are found from the Lincoln mint, which had begun to strike money before mid-October 1280, having opened sometime after mid-May of that year.¹⁷ Thus it is reasonable to assume that dies **A** and **B** were amongst the earliest used by Robert de Hadeleie. A point which should be clarified is the supposed existence of Fox class 3b coins of Bury. One such piece was so described in the Boyton hoard report.¹⁸ This coin, which is now in the British Museum is of class 3c and was clearly struck from dies **Bb**₂. The misattribution is easy to make; the drapery is curved but broader on the sinister side, and the spearhead ornaments of the crown appear on a worn coin to be quite like pearls.

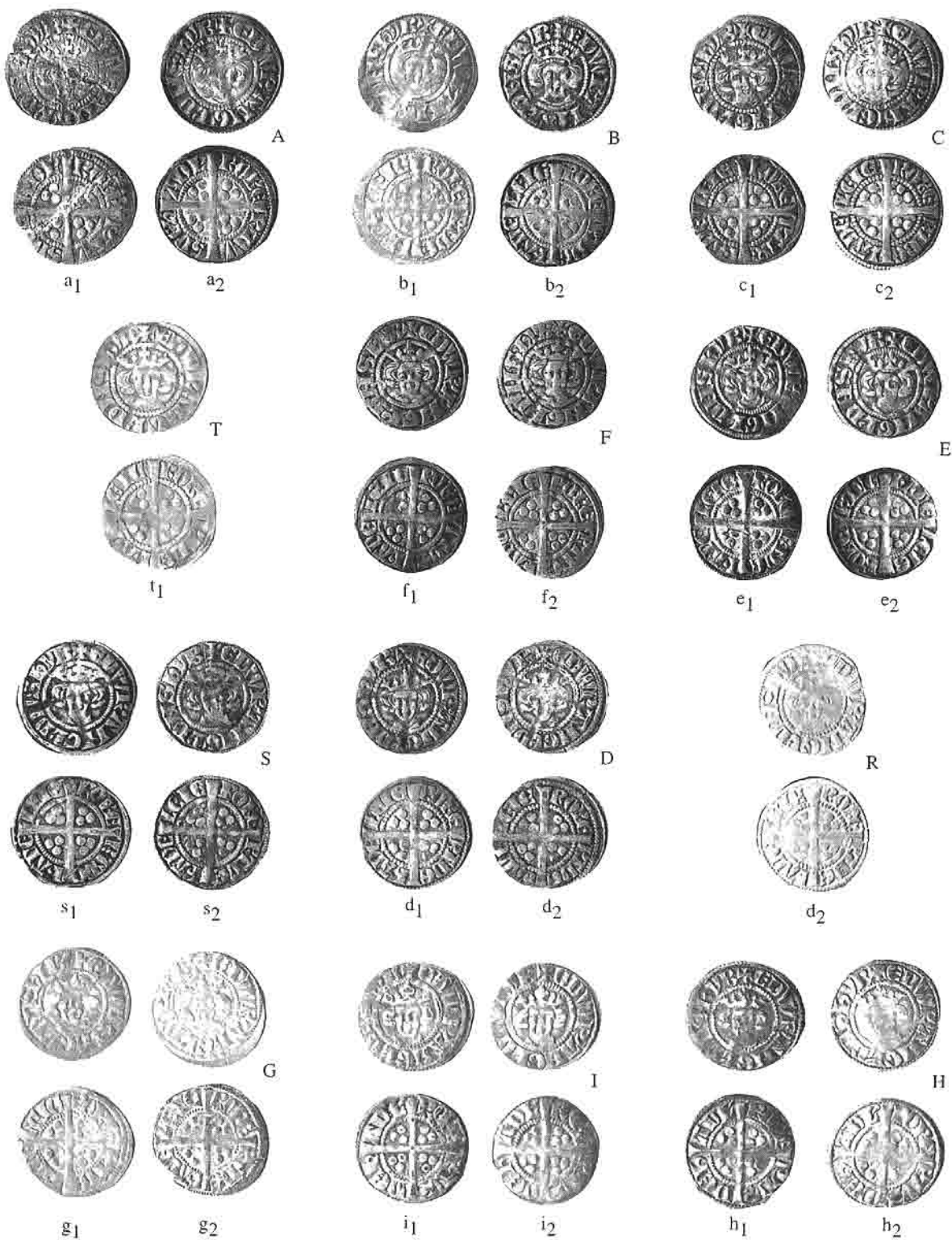
¹⁴ For example in the BM trays.

¹⁵ Fox, *BNJ* 7 (1911), 115–16.

¹⁶ Fox, *BNJ* 9 (1913), pl. IX, 30.

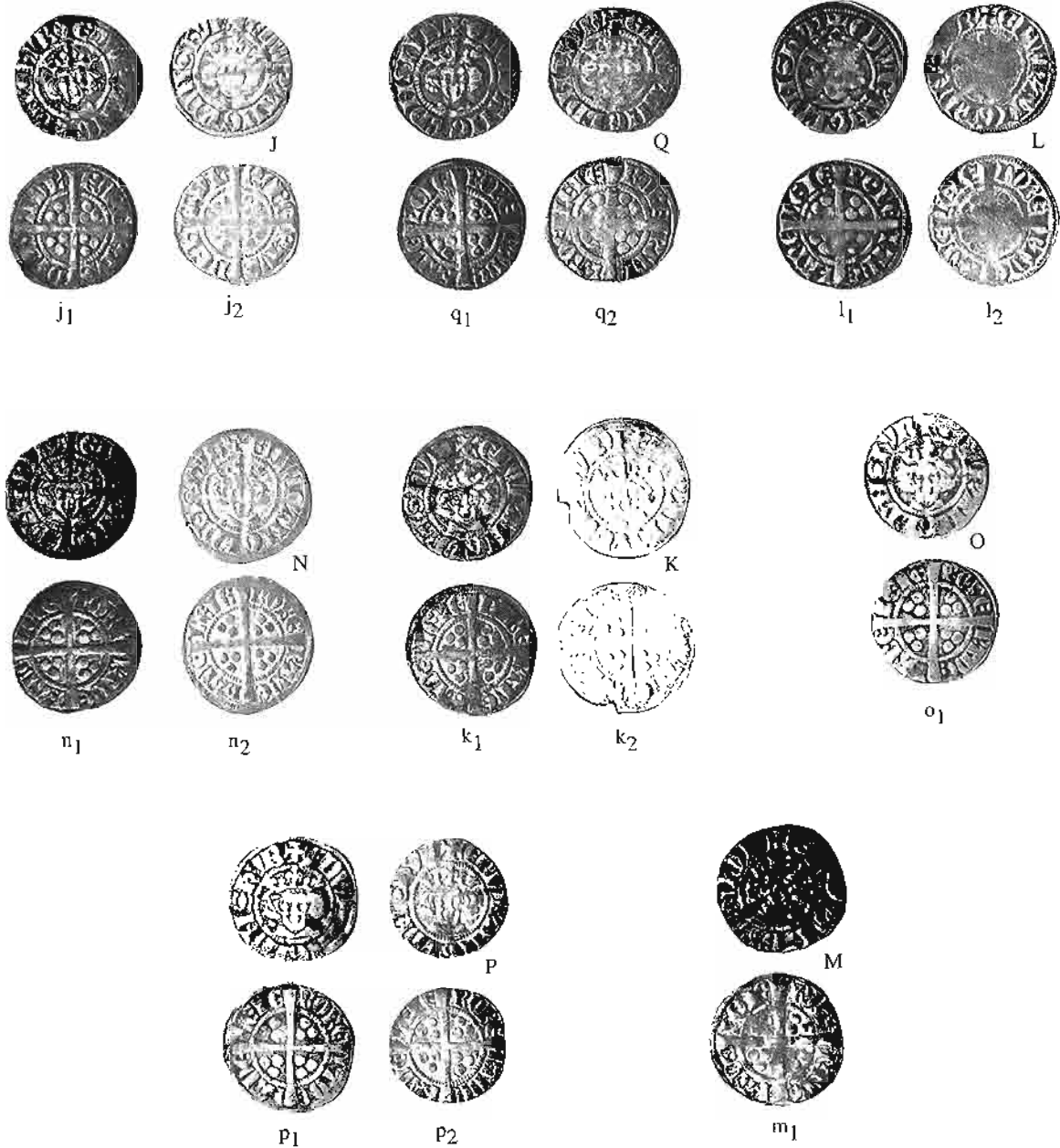
¹⁷ Fox, *BNJ* 7 (1911), 118.

¹⁸ *NC* 5 XVI (1936), 115 ff.



TATLER: ROBERT DE HADELEIE (1)

PLATE 8



TATLER: ROBERT DE HADELEIE (2)

Die Analysis

All known dies are illustrated on plates 7 and 8. In many instances differences are slight, especially between the two reverses of a set, and are more easily perceived than described. More conspicuous features which may be of help in identification are mentioned in the listing below. However, it should be borne in mind that wear, whether of the coin itself or of the die, and exigencies of striking can lead to deceptive effects.

(Although the identification letters attributed to the dies by Dr Tatler have been retained unaltered, the dies listed here and presented on the plates are in a slightly different order from that used when the original paper was read. This is so that they can be placed in chronological order and conform with the more sophisticated version of the Fox classification published in the North Sylloge. References to letter forms and stops are as used in the North Sylloge. RJE and PW)

The obverse legend on most coins is EDW R' ANGL' DNS hYB'. The only exceptions to this are die **G** which used Gothic Ns and has hIB in place of hYB, and die **M** which reads DN instead of DNS. The reverse legends are indicated in the die descriptions.

Class 3c

- Die A** h 2; S 1; R 1; face 2a; long neck. Fox -; North Sylloge 107.
Die **a₁** h 2; S 1; R 1. ROBE/RTV/SDEh/ADL' Fox -; North Sylloge 107.
Die **a₂** h 2; S 1; R 1. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
These reverses are very similar but may be distinguished by projecting an imaginary line down the centre of the letter V. In **a₁** this points towards the space between the cross and adjacent pellets; in **a₂**, more towards the nearest pellet.
- Die B** h 2; S 1; R 2; face 2b; shorter neck. Fox pl. IX, 30; North Sylloge -.
Die **b₁** h 1; R 1. ROBE/RTDE/HADE/LEIE letter O low on the inner circle and in relation to the adjoining letters, R and B. Fox pl. IX, 30; North Sylloge -.
Die **b₂** h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Letter O is higher in relation to the adjoining letters; sometimes a triangular flaw is visible on the outer circle after the second D and a further flaw between L and E. Fox -; North Sylloge -.

Class 3d

- Die C** h 2; S 2; R 1; thick neck. Fox pl. IV, 4, North Sylloge 123.
Die **c₁** h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge 123.
Die **c₂** h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Fox pl. IV, 4; North Sylloge -.
These two reverse dies are closely similar. On **c₁** the letter O is more lozenge-shaped and the foot of the A nestles slightly under the base of the D.
- Die T** h 1; S 1; R 1; thick neck. Letter G has large serif and is positioned below the dexter wedge of the drapery compared with further toward the sinister wedge on die **C**. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
Die **t₁** h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
No die **t₂** has so far been found.

Class 3f

No Bury coins of this sub-class have been found. The coin so described in the Boyton hoard report is almost certainly that in the British Museum struck from dies **Cc₁**.

Class 3g₁ (thin-waisted letter S)

- Die F** h 2; S 2; R 2; stops 1. Flaw on the dexter portion of the drapery. Usually further flaws between D, N and S and also a flaw lateral to the dexter curve of the hair. Fox -; North Sylloge 171, 172.
Die **f₁** h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Letter B is completely formed and letter L has a short bottom arm. Fox -; North Sylloge 171.
Die **f₂** h 1; R 1. Legend as last. The two commas that form the curved parts of the letter B do not touch each other and letter L has a longer bottom arm. Fox -; North Sylloge 172.

Class 3g₂ (thin-waisted letter S)

- Die E h 2; S 2; R 1 (wedge-shaped tail – an important diagnostic feature); stops 3. Fox pl. IV, 16; North Sylloge 189.
 Die e₁. h 1; R 1. Legend as last. The serif of the letter T touches the tail of the R. Fox -; North Sylloge 189.
 Die e₂. h 1; R 1. Legend as last. The arms of the long cross are relatively short making the letters, particularly the first R and the last E, appear markedly higher than the end of the cross. Fox pl. IV, 16; North Sylloge -.
 Die S h 2; S 2; R 2 (fork-shaped tail – an important diagnostic feature); stops 2. Fox -; North Sylloge 188.
 Die s₁. h 1; R 2. Legend as last. Neat first R; back of E enroaches on D. Fox -; North Sylloge 188.
 Die s₂. h 1; R 2. Legend as last. First R with less neat tail. Fox -; North Sylloge -.

Class 3g₃ (thick-waisted letter S)

- Die D h 2; S 3; R 2; stops 1. Side fleur points to (large) B. Fox -; North Sylloge 198.
 Die d₁. h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Clearly barred letter A; swelling on the upright limb of the letter L. Fox -; North Sylloge 198.
 Die d₂. h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Large, apparently unbarred, letter A; wedge shaped upright limb of letter L; the second letter D has a serif protruding from its base. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 Die R h 2; S 3; R 2; stops 1; side fleur points between h and Y. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 This obverse die only found with reverse d₂.
 Die G An 'irregular' die. h 2; S 3; R 2; stops 3. Both letter Ns in Gothic form and reads hLB instead of hYB. Small crown punch. Fox pl. III, 9; North Sylloge 199 also his fn. 23.
 Die g₁. h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Letters B and E clearly separate, D and E overlap. Fox pl. III, 9; North Sylloge -.
 Die g₂. h 1; R 1. Legend as last. Letters B and E clearly run into each other, D and E touch. Fox -; North Sylloge 199.

Class 4a₁ (Burns A 21)

- Die I Letter B open into inner circle. Fox -; North Sylloge 217.
 Die i₁. h 2. ROBE/RTVS/DEH/ADL' Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 Die i₂. h 2. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge 217.
 Closely similar reverse dies, on i₁ the tail of the R runs into the O, which is not the case with i₂, and the letter E is centred beneath the adjacent three pellets on i₁, but further to the right on i₂.

Class 4a₂ (Burns A 21)

- Die H Contraction mark touches back of D. Fox -; North Sylloge 218.
 Die h₁. h 1. Legend as last. S squeezed between cross and V. Space between the letters D and E. Fox -; North Sylloge 218.
 Die h₂. h 1. Legend as last. S normal. Letters D and E closer than on die h₁. Fox -; North Sylloge -.

Class 4a₃ (Burns A 20)

- Die J Stoutier initial cross than on dies H and I; central swelling of letter S prominent. Fox pl. VI, 5; North Sylloge 219.
 Die j₁. h 2. Legend as last. Fox pl. VI, 5; North Sylloge 219.
 Die j₂. h 2. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 Similar dies but on j₁ the upper wedge of the first letter E is level with the end of the long cross, whereas, on j₂, the upper edge projects beyond the end of the cross.

Class 4a₄ (Burns A 19)

- Die Q h 2; unbarred A. First upright of second letter N slightly double-struck. Fox -; North Sylloge 220, 221.

Die **q₁**. h 1; unbarred A. ROBE/RTDE/HADE/LEIE Fox -; North Sylloge 220, 221.
 Die **q₂**. h 1; unbarred A. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 Closely similar reverse dies, but on **q₂**, the back of the fourth E rests on the foot of L.

Class 4b

- Die **L** h 2; unbarred A. First letter N unbarred, the second barred; crown encroaches on inner circle. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 Die **l₁**. h 1; barred A. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 Die **l₂**. h 1; barred A. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 Closely similar reverse dies but on **l₂** the letter R is fused to O.
- Die **N** h 2; barred A. Crown encroaches on inner circle. Fox pl. VI, 14 (IVc); North Sylloge -.
 Die **n₁**. h 1; R 1; barred A. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 Die **n₂**. h 1; R 1; barred A. Legend as last. Fox VI, 14; North Sylloge -.
 The tail of the letter h is smaller on die **n₁** than on **n₂**.
- Die **K** h 2; barred A. The crown is within the inner circle; S is both prominent and lies lower than a line drawn at a level with the eyes. Fox pl. VI, 10; North Sylloge -.
 Die **k₁**. h 1; R 1; unbarred A. Legend as last. The form of the letter R with a horizontal tail makes it appear like an L with an upper crescent. Fox pl. VI, 10; North Sylloge -.
 Die **k₂**. h 1; R 1; unbarred A. Legend as last. This has a more normal form of the letter R. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
- Die **O** h 2; barred A. Flaws by hair and between the initial cross and the letters E and D. Fox -; North Sylloge 236, 237.
 Die **o₁**. h 1; R 1; barred A. Small flaw above the letter L. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge 236, 237.
- Die **P** No coin has yet been found on which the reverse can be confidently identified as **o₂**.
 h 2; barred A. Developing die flaw adjacent to the first letter E and to where the dexter side fleur and hair meet. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 Die **p₁**. h 1; R 1; A barred. First R aligned higher than cross end; B resembles letter R. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 Die **p₂**. h 1; R 1; A barred. First R aligned with cross; lower crescent of B curls under upright. Legend as last. Fox -; North Sylloge -.

Class 4c

- Die **M** Letter A unbarred. Reads DNHYB. Fox -; North Sylloge – also see his footnote 28.
 Die **m₁**. h 1; R 1; A unbarred. Die crudely engraved with BE and IE overlapping. Fox -; North Sylloge -.
 No die **m₂** has yet been found.

The ‘irregular’ die, G, and its position in the coinage

The ‘irregular’ die G, listed here under class 3g₃, requires additional comment.¹⁹ Because of its peculiarities, the Gothic N and the I in place of Y in hIB, Fox was inclined to see it as the earliest variety to have been issued by de Hadeleie, the dies having been irregularly manufactured locally. He suggested that the die-sinker might have taken for his model a specimen of the groat, which also has a gothic N and reads hIB(N). He associated the commission of 1283 with the use of the moneyer’s name which had simply been perpetuated, by oversight, from the irregular die. He remarked on the interval of three years between the commencement of the coinage and the commission and commented that no obvious action was taken as a result of the inquiry because Robert de Hadeleie appears to have remained as moneyer until 1287. He suggested that owing to the long dispute over the supply of a standard, the supply of a die could have been overlooked and when Gregory de Rokesley gave his

¹⁹ North Sylloge, 12, concurs with Tatler’s view that the die was probably a late 3g variant.

verbal message to the abbot, he assumed that the die had been supplied at the time the writ was issued and de Hadeleie sworn in. Fox supposed that the new abbot, who had never superintended a coinage, was ignorant of the usual routine, and that when the instructions arrived, the abbey, erroneously, made its own die.²⁰ This triggered the anomaly of the moneyer's name, and not the mint name, appearing on de Hadeleie's coins.

Stride²¹ also felt that the monks may have set about making their own dies unaware of the correct procedures, suppressing the moneyer's name, and that the irregularity was not discovered for some time owing to the circulation of Bury coins being limited to the vicinity of that town.²² Stride also considered that the name of Robert de Hadeleie disappeared from the coins following the investigation of 1283, and not in 1287 with the appointment of a new moneyer, as had been thought by Fox.

Mate,²³ like Fox, identified the first coins struck by de Hadeleie with the irregular die. However, she pointed out flaws in the Fox argument. She stressed that it was well known that new dies could only be supplied from the London administration. Mate thought it unlikely that the abbot would allow an irregular die to be made after his concern to find out the exact composition of the new money and she cited documentary evidence²⁴ that one die was delivered to the abbot's sacrist, prior to striking of any coin, on June 26, 1280. Mate raised another possible explanation to account for the existence of the 'irregular' die. According to the warden's accounts, Boniface, the assayer, went to Bury to make the assay and to cut the dies (*ad cuneos talliandos*). She very reasonably considered that Boniface would not have been cognisant with die cutting and that this could explain erratic workmanship. Mate suggested that this course of action might have been taken to save time, since, at the height of the recoinage in 1280, die-cutting capacity in London might have been over-extended.

It is possible that because of the apparent absence of class 3c coins, Fox initially thought that the 'irregular' die was used between midsummer and autumn 1280. After he had constructed his argument he found coins struck from a 3c die, and since that time survivors from a second 3c die have come to light. The product of these two die sets could well account for the bullion struck into coin during the period of two months or so, as outlined in Table I.

There are certainly no stylistic grounds for considering die G to be the earliest. Gothic forms of the letter N were used on class 1a pennies of London, on groats, and on class 3f pennies with the York mint signature and, indeed, we owe to Mr North the suggestion that die G might be contemporary with 3f. The possibility that the coin could be a Continental imitation has to be considered but the apparent employment of some regular punches in its manufacture make it difficult to accept this idea.

The abbot, by his request for fuller information on the recoinage, would appear to have been more cautious than foolish. Although not directly concerned with the mint there, he had been a monk serving in the abbey before his election.²⁵ Long Cross coins of Lawrence class 7 had, until as recently as 1278, been struck at the mint by Joceus the Goldsmith,²⁶ and other monks as well as the sacrist must have been familiar with the operations of the mint. Dr Mate has

²⁰ Fox, *BNJ* 7 (1911), 117. This argument places too much emphasis on the role of the abbot. The mint was under the control of the sacrist's department (BL Harl. Ms 645, fo. 260v.).

²¹ H.G. Stride, 'The Royal Mint its Evolution and Development', *SCMB* 443 (April 1955), 134.

²² This argument is not very convincing. The composition of several hoards before 1300 is summarised in Table 2 which clearly indicates the Robert de Hadeleie content to be approximately 1.47% of all coins from English mints. Thus the currency of Robert de Hadeleie coins in general circulation in places as far apart as Nottinghamshire, Hampshire and Roxburghshire was at least one coin in a hundred of the whole product of all the English mints at the turn of the fourteenth

century. That coins took some time to circulate away from their mint of origin is self-evident and may be seen from the content of the Whistonstall and Skegby hoards. But the time needed to achieve a uniform distribution was clearly not very great.

²³ Mavis Mate, 'Monetary Policies in England, 1272-1307' *BNJ* 41 (1972), 47-8.

²⁴ Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Memoranda Roll (E368/53, m. 2d).

²⁵ He had been *hostilarius interior*, the guest master who looked after visitors from other houses of the Benedictine Order (*The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301*, edited by A. Gransden, London (1964), 67-8).

²⁶ 1278 KR, 6 Edward I, m. 5d. See Fox *BNJ* 7 (1911), 129.

TABLE 1

Fox/North classification	Obverse Die	Number of surviving coins recorded	Probable date of issue
3c	A	8	June to August 1280 ¹
	B	19	
3d	C	17	Late 1280
	T	3	
3g ₁	F	12	Early 1281 ²
3g ₂	E	12	
	S	8	Late 1281
3g ₃ (thick S)	D	31	
	R	1	
	G ('irregular' die)	16	
4a ₁	I	34	1282
4a ₂	H	23	
4a ₃	J	21	1283-4 ³
4a ₄	Q	17	
4b	L	10	
	N	16	
	K	6	
	O	16	
	P	9	
4c	M	2	
<i>Total</i>	20	281	

¹ Compare Lincoln mint, cf. North nos. 105, 106 and pp. 10-12.² Compare Chester mint, cf. North nos. 163-66 and pp. 10-12.³ Compare Durham mint, cf. North nos. 232-35 and pp. 10-12.

shown, as already noted, that the sacrist did receive a die in 1280; and the commission of 1283 referred to a die which had previously been delivered and falsified. Thus it would appear that the commission's concern was not with Robert de Hadeleie's earliest die but with one which was in use later and, indeed, perhaps closer to 1283. Die G was certainly regular to the extent that it was struck with two reverse dies which have not been found linked to other obverses and that some of the punches it uses appear to be regular for other late coins of Class 3g. It would also appear to have been regular, too, in as much as the number of surviving coins is well within the range of the numbers of survivors from other Robert de Hadeleie dies. Could the irregular die simply have been the work of an inexperienced official die cutter?

Use of dies

Mate considered that 2,200 coins a day could be struck by working a single set of dies.²⁷ For this she estimated an approximate time of fifteen seconds to strike each coin. With repetition and skill – and shifts of men to wield the hammers – the time taken to insert a blank, strike and remove the coin could well have been a matter of a few seconds, and it is possible that the whole product of a single obverse could have been made within a short time. This, of course, would have depended on demand and could not have been continuous. That the abbot required a new die every week at the height of the recoinage, as suggested by Mate,²⁸ certainly does not

²⁷ Mavis Mate, 'Coin Dies under Edward I and II', *NC* 7, IX (1969), 214. It is interesting to compare this with the evidence for the striking of £30 worth of coin (approximately 7200 pence) at Durham, which had three sets of dies, on 31 July

1302. See J.J. North, 'Irregular dies of the Durham mint c. 1300' *BNJ* 54 (1984), 77, note 6.

²⁸ *BNJ* 41 (1972), 48.

tally with the number of dies known to have been used. If – as is likely from the number of surviving coins – twenty sets of de Hadeleie dies were used between 1280 and 1287 (see Table 1), each would have lasted, on average, over four months. Mate herself has shown, however, that thirty-nine dies, equal to thirteen sets each consisting of one obverse with two reverses, were used between September 1281 and October 1283 when, she says, ‘the pressure of recoinage was almost over’.²⁹ This would equate precisely during that twenty-six month period to an average active life of two months for each set of dies. This strongly suggests that the mint was not abnormally active from June 1280 through to August 1281, and that the use of dies declined significantly after September 1283.

Obviously work must have stopped while the old sets of dies were being exchanged for the new, but this is unlikely to have presented a problem, given the level of activity. When the mint did cease to operate for this reason the monks would have had the patience to wait for a new die, as had been the practice for generations. As is apparent from the die analysis set out above, there is no indication whatever that die sets were in practice allowed to be stockpiled; they are all distinct from each other using the various punches that appeared on dies made for other mints at different times.

The purpose of the commission of 1283

If the ‘irregular’ die, G, is now correctly positioned in the series, the commission of July 1283 could have been a belated reaction to that irregularity. Alternatively, it could have been related to the more obvious irregularity of the moneyer’s rather than the mint name on the coins, even though the dies were supplied from London; or, yet again, it could have been occasioned by other circumstances which are, at present, unknown. If, however, the commission was concerned with the irregular die, Stride’s suggestion that the irregular use of the moneyer’s name was not noticed until 1283 because the circulation of the coins was limited to the vicinity of Bury cannot be accepted.³⁰ The findings of the commission are, moreover, not known. Probably Robert de Hadeleie was allowed to continue as moneyer until 1287, although we cannot be sure of this. The latest coins that we know of with his name upon them are of class 4c (die M) which may well have been struck in late 1283 or 1284. No coins are known of class 4d, which might suggest a hiatus, and coins are known of class 4e, which could have been struck in 1287–9, from more than one die with a version of the reading *Villa Sci Edmundi*.³¹ Unfortunately the introduction of class 4e cannot be closely dated and since the whole of class 4 was evidently struck during a period of steeply diminishing output following the completion of the recoinage, it would certainly be wrong to postulate any linear relationship between different classes and time.

Phasing of Dies

Taking account of the above evidence, if, as suggested in the last paragraph, it is correct to assume that the coin from die M was issued as one of the thirteen sets between September 1281 and October 1283, the remaining seven dies (or six if the ‘irregular’ die is excluded) will have been issued prior to September 1281. Since there is a good probability that all Robert de Hadeleie dies are represented in the sample we have, those six or seven sets will be the two class 3c dies, A and B, which were probably in use to about August 1280, the two class 3d dies, C and T, which were perhaps used towards the end of 1280, and two or three 3g₁ dies, F,

²⁹ E372/132 m. 2. See ‘Monetary Policies in England’, 48, note 4.

³⁰ See note 22.

³¹ North Sylloge, 268 and note 33.

E and S with the thin waisted S (S. 2). It is worth noting that these 3g₁ dies are similar in style to the dies of the same sub-group of Chester³² which opened in early 1281 and was closed by Michaelmas of that same year.

The volume of coins struck in the name of Robert de Hadeleie

Between 1280 and 1296/97 it is known that 7120 pounds of silver were struck into coin at Bury St Edmunds.³³ At the latter date class 8 was almost certainly being issued.³⁴ A review of the comparatively rare coins of Bury struck in this period and after Robert de Hadeleie's name ceased to appear on them suggests that:

for class 4e two die sets were used
for class 5 two die sets were used
for class 6 one die set was used
for class 7 two die sets were used
and for class 8 perhaps as many as eight die sets were used

This gives a total of fifteen die sets with a version of the reading *Villa Scie Edmynndi*,³⁵ which, together with the twenty Robert de Hadeleie sets that we know of, gives a total of thirty-five, including the 'irregular' die. Reducing this total by a purely estimated figure of four to allow for the fact that some of the class 8 sets may have been produced or used after 1296/97, we arrive at about thirty-one sets used to strike a little over seven thousand pounds worth of bullion into coin. Thus we can make an approximation that on average each set struck about £230 of silver into some 55,000 coins. The survivors from the hoards listed in Table 2 clearly indicate that fewer coins survive from *Villa Scie Edmynndi* dies than from Robert de Hadeleie dies. Thus the average production of a set of dies in Robert de Hadeleie's name may have been in excess of 55,000 and of those reading *Villa Scie Edmynndi* somewhat less. Lord Stewartby, in his second paper on medieval die output, calculated an issue of between four and five thousand pounds struck in the name of Robert de Hadeleie to give an average output from each die at between 60,000 and 75,000 coins.³⁶ A comparison of the proportions of surviving coins known to the author show that at least three quarters of the Bury coinage from Fox class 3 to class 8 inclusive was struck bearing the name of Robert de Hadeleie, a sum approximating to £5340, giving on average £267 per die, equivalent to 64,000 coins, well within the range of Lord Stewartby's figures. Great care must have been taken with the abbot's dies to achieve such large production and the dies must have been kept in use for as long as possible. Later, when *Villa Scie Edmynndi* dies were used and Richard de Lothbury was moneyer, the lower pressure of minting would have made it practicable to exchange dies before they were so fully worn. However, preliminary examination of the dies used during the next recoinage of 1300 indicates that the dies were again used to strike large quantities of coins.

Between 1280 and 1283 about one and a quarter million pennies must have been struck bearing Robert de Hadeleie's name. A significant proportion has survived, certainly well in excess of the 281 coins included in this survey, and the sample will assuredly grow as further hoards come to light. The survival rate of those coins used for this study is between one in four thousand and one in five thousand, fortunately large enough to enable several specimens struck from most dies to be seen. The majority of surviving coins must have been deposited in

³² North Sylloge, 163–166.

³³ C.U. Ms Ec 3.60, fo. 117v (Pinchbeck Register). See Stride, *SCMB* 444 (May 1955), 128. The pyx trial from which this date is derived specifies 25 Edward I which ended in November 1297.

³⁴ North Sylloge, 'between 1294 and 1299'.

³⁵ RJE has positively identified 14 obverse dies: 4c, 2; 5b, 3; 6b, 1; 7a, 3; 8a, 3; 8a–b, 1; 8b, 1.

³⁶ B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'Second thoughts on medieval die output' *NC*, IV (1964), 293–303.

TABLE 2. Bury St Edmunds coins of Fox classes 3c to 4c (Robert de Hadeleie) and of 4d to 8b in several hoards compared with numbers of coins of the same classes from all other English mints. Arranged in advancing order of estimated deposit dates.

Hoard Name	Deposit Date	Date Found	English ¹ Content (Fox Classes up to 15d, pence only)	Content Classes 3c to 4c			Content Classes 4d to 8b				References
				All Mints	Robert de Hadeleie	%	All Mints	Bury	%	Latest Fox Class in Hoard	
Skegby	c. 1290	1967	406	279	5		7	0		5a	BNJ 40 (1972), 44–56
Broughton	c. 1290	1964	255	175	2		32	0		5b	BNJ 35 (1966), 120–27
Mellendean ²	c. 1295	1911	698	427	8		153	0		8	NC 1990, 179–204
Coventry No 2	c. 1298	1937	123	87	1		22	0		5	BNJ 23 (1938–41), 279–80
Middridge	c. 1310	1974	2612	1462	21		317	3		11a	Prelim. pub. CH II (1976), 115–16, to be published fully by Miss M.M. Archibald who has provided amended figures
Whittonstall	c. 1311	1958	1144	173	3		79	3		11a	Arch. Aetiana 4, xli (1963), 65–83
Renfrew	c. 1321	1963	451	261	5		26	0		15a	BNJ 35 (1966), 128–47
Ednam	c. 1321–22	1995	1246	178	1		82	1		15b	BNJ 66 (1996), 23–59
Boyton	c. 1325	1935	3858	524	9		117	1		15c	NC5, xvi (1936), 115–26
Bootham	c. 1326	1953	829	244	9		89	2		15c	BNJ 27 (1952–54), 281–93
Aberdeen I ³	c. 1330	1983	4064	667	12		215	3		15d	BNJ 58 (1989), 39–68
Lochmaben ²	c. 1330	1904	415	77	0		24	0		15d	NC 1990, 179–204
Blackhills ²	c. 1332	1911	1903	283	4		115	1		15b?	NC 1990, 179–204
Berscar	c. 1335	1900	1286	199	2		49	0		15d	BNJ 47 (1977), 92–101
Loch Doon	c. 1335	1966	1722	230	7		95	1		15d	BNJ 38 (1969), 31–49
Aberdeen II ³	c. 1345	1984	2239	361	1		128	1		15d	BNJ 58 (1989), 39–68
Derby	c. 1348	1927	488	367	2		23	0		15d	NC5 viii (1928), 47–60
Montrave ⁴	c. 1360	1877	8229	1450	19		590	6		15d	BNJ 31 (1962), 80–87
Kirial	c. 1365	1967	1723	344	3		93	1		15d	WNA 1970
Aberdour	c. 1375	1978–81	187	31	1		12	0		15d	BNJ 58 (1989), 69–83
				7819	115	1.47	2268	23	1.01		

¹ Excluding Berwick.

² Figures derived from the reclassification published by Stewart and North (see ref.), in which the Macdonald classification is converted into the Fox equivalents. As they show in their paper, small inaccuracies are possible.

³ Burns type A11 and A12 are excluded from these and other hoard 3c figures (when available), since these transitional types between 3b and 3c do not appear at Bury.

⁴ Figures derived from the reclassification published by Tatler and Stewart (see ref.) in which the Burns classification is converted into the Fox equivalent.

hoards at one time or another. In hoards discovered prior to the twentieth century unwanted coins were sometimes melted down for bullion, but Robert de Hadeleie pennies, because of their reverse readings may, on occasion, have been selectively saved. Table 2 is a list of Robert de Hadeleie coins that have been found in a number of hoards, from which it will be seen that they (classes 3c to 4c inclusive) account for 1.47 per cent of the total comparable output of English coin.

APPENDIX: LIST OF LOCATIONS AND WEIGHTS

The current (1999) locations and weights (where available) of the 281 coins used in this die study are set out below. The following abbreviations are used:

AM	Ashmolean Museum
BM	British Museum
CUA	City/University of Aberdeen

FM	Fitzwilliam Museum
CEB	C.E. Blunt
RJE	Dr R.J. Eaglen
EJH	Dr E.J. Harris
FEJ	F. Elmore Jones sale.
JJN	J.J. North
DP	D. Palmer
IS	Lord Stewartby
GVT	Dr G.L.V. Tatler estate
MH	Moyses Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds
NMW	National Museum of Wales
PW	P. Woodhead
P	Other private owner
plu	Present location unknown
RCL	R.C. Lockett sale
RMM	Royal Mint Museum
UM	Ulster Museum

(It should be noted that Dr Tatler recorded all locations when he built up his register of coins, although he did not always record weights. In the case of private collections a number have been dispersed since, either in whole (JJN) or in part (PW). The coins in the collection of C.E. Blunt, which included the coins from the Fox collection, were acquired in total after his death by the Fitzwilliam Museum. Dr Tatler's register, which includes photographs or casts of most of the coins, has been deposited in the library of the British Numismatic Society. Weights not recorded by Dr Tatler have been obtained so far as is possible. Where this has not been possible the coin is annotated 'wnk' (RJE and PW).

Weights of coins illustrated on the plates (when known) are given in **bold** type. Coins marked with an asterisk (*) are clipped or otherwise damaged. Numbers after coins attributed to GVT and, in quotes, after coins attributed to IHS and PW refer to the numbers related to them in Dr Tatler's register.

Aa₁	(3); 1.23* (RJE), 1.44 (FM), 1.38 (DP ex JJN).
Aa₂	(5); 1.44 (GVT ex PW '1'), 1.41 (RJE), 1.37 (EJH), 1.28* (plu), 1.43 (RJE).
Bb₁	(6); 1.39 (RJE), 1.26* (GVT ex PW '7'), 1.42 (BM ex Boyton TT), 1.45 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.32 (RJE), 1.20 (FM ex CEB).
Bb₂	(12); 1.43 (RJE), 1.43 (RJE), 1.28 (plu ex PW '9'), 1.36 (IS), 1.13 (GVT 11), 1.20 (GVT 166), 1.16 (GVT 169), 1.35 (RJE), 1.28 (DP), wnk (plu ex FEJ 1263), 1.11* (CUA), 1.00* (MH). Plus one other coin with obverse die B (plu).
Cc₁	(8); 1.50 (GVT 19), wnk (GVT ex PW '16'), 1.40 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.44 (plu), 1.33 (DP ex JJN), 1.15* (RJE), 1.38 (RJE), 1.47 (BM ex Boyton TT).
Cc₂	(6); 1.35 (EJH), 1.64 (FM ex CEB), 1.41 (DP), wnk (plu ex PW '17'), 1.33 (RJE), wnk (plu ex RCL 3969). Plus one other coin with dies Cc₁ and two with Cc₂ (all plu).
Tt₁	(3); 1.33 (RJE), 1.32 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.18* (CUA).
Ff₁	(9); 1.38 (GVT 49), wnk (PW '48'), 1.35 (IS), 0.98* (FM), wnk (plu ex PW '179'), 1.25 (P ex JJN), 1.45 (RJE), 1.41 (RJE), 1.46 (P ex JJN).
Ff₂	(2); 1.36 (GVT 50), 1.44 (plu ex Middridge TT). Plus one other coin with die Ff₁ (plu).
Ee₁	(5); wnk (plu ex PW '42'), 1.18 (BM ex Derby TT), 1.44 (DP ex JJN), 1.33 (RJE), 1.26* (RJE).
Ee₂	(5); 1.43 (GVT 176), 1.45 (FM ex CEB), 1.41 (GVT 43), 1.42 (GVT 177), 1.43 (RJE). Plus two other coins from obverse die E (plu).
Ss₁	(3); 1.35 (GVT 160), wnk (plu ex PW), 1.42 (P ex JJN).
Ss₂	(3); 1.34 (RJE), 1.39 (plu), 1.05* (RJE). Plus two other coins from obverse die S (plu).
Dd₁	(21); 1.46 (RJE), wnk (plu ex PW '26'), 1.37 (RJE), wnk (plu ex PW '28'), wnk (plu PW '29'), 1.42 (GVT 30), 1.42 (IS), 1.35 (BM ex Evans), 1.42 (BM ex Parkes Weber), 1.43 (plu), 1.43 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.25* (RJE), 1.28* (plu), 1.37 (RJE), 1.42 (GVT 170), 1.37 (GVT 171), 1.32 (P ex JJN), 1.36 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.39 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.43 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.43 (plu).
Dd₂	(3); 1.38 (GVT 32), 1.27 (RJE), 1.47 (BM ex Skegby TT). Plus three other coins from dies Dd₁ and 4 from Dd₂ (all plu).
Rd₂	(1); 1.29 (BM ex Blackhills TT).
Gg₁	(8); 1.36 (RJE), 1.32 (plu ex PW '53'), 0.98* (GVT 55), 1.35 (FM ex CEB), 1.42 (RJE), 1.40 (UM), 1.34 (RJE), 1.45 (plu ex Middridge TT).

- Gg₂** (7); 1.30 (RJE), 1.31 (IS ex PW '54'), 1.44 (BM ex Evans), 1.47 (RJE), 1.33 (RJE ex FEJ 1267), 1.29* (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.16* (DP ex JJN).
Plus one other coin from dies **Gg₁** (plu)
- Ii₁** (12); 1.42 (RJE), 1.35 (IS), 1.18* (IS), 1.32 (BM ex Montrave TT), 1.41 (BM ex Blackhills TT), 1.33 (BM ex Oldroyd), 1.22* (FM), 1.35 (RJE), 1.36 (RJE), 1.38 (RJE), 1.15* (RJE), 1.34 (RMM ex Hocking 492).
- Ii₂** (13); 1.31 (RJE), 1.35 (P ex JJN), wnk (plu ex PW '72'), 1.42 (IS), 1.21 (IS), 1.33 (AM), 1.24 (BM ex Boyton TT), 1.16* (AM), 1.35 (GVT 94), 1.36 (plu ex Middridge), 1.44 (plu ex Middridge), 1.29 (RJE), 1.36 (plu).
Plus 5 other coins from die **Ii₁** and four others from obverse die **I** (all plu).
- Hh₁** (16); 1.47 (GVT 195), wnk (plu ex PW '61'), wnk (plu ex PW '62'), 1.41 (RJE), 0.90* (GVT 65), 1.39 (IS), 1.36 (BM ex Lawrence), 1.39 (BM ex Newminster TT), 1.41 (GVT 184), 1.44 (P ex JJN), 1.40 (CUA), 1.45 (RJE), 1.37 (RJE), 1.32* (RJE), 1.09 (RMM ex Hocking 493), 1.29 (GVT 260).
Plus one other coin from die **Hh₁** and one from **Hh₂** (plu).
- Hh₂** (5); wnk (plu ex PW '185'), wnk (plu ex PW '63'), 1.43 (IS), 1.48 (BM pre 1837), 1.21 (RJE).
- Jj₁** (9); 1.28 (PW '102'), 1.44 (IS), wnk (GVT 99), 1.33 (FM ex CEB), 1.44 (BM ex Blackhills TT), 1.35 (AM), 1.26* (P ex JJN), 1.40 (NMW), 1.45 (RJE).
- Jj₂** (8); 1.40 (RJE), 1.36 (RJE), wnk (plu ex PW '96'), wnk (plu ex PW '97'), 1.17 (GVT 100), 1.36 (GVT 101), 1.09* (RJE), 1.31* (RJE).
Plus three other coins from dies **Jj₁** and one other from obverse die **J** (all plu).
- Qq₁** (9); 1.29 (RJE), 1.41 (P ex JJN), 1.42 (BM 'E2220'), 1.34 (RJE), 1.30 (plu ex Middridge), 1.39 (GVT 196), 1.40 (RJE), 1.40 (P ex JJN), 1.30 (RJE).
- Qq₂** (4); 1.36 (GVT 152), 1.39 (RJE), 1.37 (GVT 197), 1.39 (FM).
Plus four other coins from obverse die **Q** (plu).
- Ll₁** (6); 1.38 (GVT 120), 1.32 (plu ex JJN), 1.31 (GVT 116), 1.37 (RJE), 1.46 (RJE), 1.35 (plu ex Middridge TT).
- Ll₂** (4); 1.39 (RJE), 1.16 (IS), 1.39 (ML), 1.45 (plu).
- Nn₁** (3); 1.39 (RJE), 1.34 (GVT 128), 1.50 (FM).
- Nn₂** (10); 1.41 (RJE), wnk (plu ex PW '125'), 1.37 (GVT 126), 1.42 (GVT 127), 1.23 (FM ex CEB), wnk (plu ex PW '204'), 1.39 (RJE), 1.37 (RJE), 1.38 (NMW), 1.55 (P).
Plus three other coins from obverse die **N** (plu).
- Kk₁** (4); 1.40 (RJE), 1.35 (IS), 1.18 (FM ex CEB), 1.31* (RJE).
- Kk₂** (1); 1.39 (BM ex Blackhills TT).
Plus one other coin from obverse die **K** (plu).
- Oo₁** (14); 1.27 (GVT 136), 1.39 (plu ex Middridge TT), 1.45 (RJE), 1.33* (RJE), 1.49 (plu), 1.35 (P ex JJN), 1.24 (P ex JJN), 1.43 (BM ex Newminster TT), 1.36 (AM), 1.39 (RJE ex Lockett 3969), 1.41 (plu ex Middridge TT), wnk (plu ex PW '135'), 1.42 (EJH), 1.45 (RMM ex Hocking 491).
Plus two other coins from obverse die **O** (plu).
- Pp₁** (4); 1.34 (GVT 143), 1.31 (BM ex Evans), 1.18 (GVT 144), 1.26* (RJE).
- Pp₂** (4); 1.15 (GVT 146), 1.33 (BM ex Oldroyd), 1.41 (GVT 145), 1.38 (BM ex Carsphairn TT).
Plus one other coin from obverse die **P** (plu).
- MM₁** (2); 1.42 (RJE), 1.53 (P ex JJN).

SCOTTISH COIN HOARDS, 1996–97

N.M.McQ. HOLMES

WITH A CONTRIBUTION BY P.T. WILTHEW

THIS article comprises reports on six finds of mediaeval and early post-mediaeval coins, all recovered by metal-detectorists during an unusually prolific two-year period. The fact that all these hoards were submitted by the finders for processing through the Treasure Trove system and eventual acquisition by appropriate local museums is an indication that some success has been achieved in building bridges between detectorists and museums in Scotland, and credit for this must go to a number of local curators as well as to the detectorists themselves.

Of the six finds recorded here, two are additional parcels from hoards recovered previously – one as long ago as 1844, and the other in 1991 – and the remainder are new discoveries. Four belong to the ever-increasing number of Scottish hoards from the Edwardian period, but the other two date from the early fifteenth century and the late sixteenth century, the latter apparently representing the products of a counterfeiter's workshop, lost or disposed of before they could be put into circulation.

Horsleyhill, Roxburghshire (1997)

A further twenty-seven English and Scottish pennies and continental sterlings were recovered from the same field in which fifty-six were found in 1991,¹ again by Mr Scott Sibbald with the aid of a metal-detector. The discovery of these coins in an area which had previously been considered to have given up all its secrets provides further support for the theory that a hoard had been disturbed and spread. Further ploughing may yield more coins, therefore. The second group was declared to be Treasure Trove and allocated to Scottish Borders Museums, which include the former Roxburgh District Museum service, recipient of the earlier finds.

In recording the 1991 group, the writer suggested that the hoard may have been deposited during the last decade of the thirteenth century, since all but five of the English pennies belonged to classes 2–7. The five class 10 pennies might then have been stray losses in the same field. Alternatively it was suggested that the hoard could have comprised a late thirteenth-century accumulation, with a few later coins added before deposition around 1310. This second batch does nothing to dispel this impression, with all but one of the eighteen English pennies belonging to classes 1–4, and the other to class 10. The two groups together contain sixty-nine English pennies, of which sixty-three were minted before *c.* 1296 and six between *c.* 1301 and 1310. The absence of any pennies of the common class 9 is still striking.

Four Scottish pennies of Alexander III formed part of the second batch, bringing the total to seven out of a total of eighty-three coins (8.43 per cent). Four continental sterlings join the two found previously, thus making up 7.23 per cent of the total. This is a relatively high proportion and supports the theory that most of the coins in the hoard were removed from circulation before 1300.

One Scottish penny (catalogue no. 23; **Pl. 9**) bears an unusual bust, apparently with a broken hair-punch, and an initial cross which appears potent and thus atypical for class E.

¹ N.M.McQ. Holmes, 'Old and New Edwardian Hoards from Scotland', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 41–69, at pp. 66–69.

Summary

A summary of the hoard in the *Inventory* format might be as follows:

HORSLEYHILL, Roxburghshire (supplementary), 1997.

27 AR English, Irish, Scottish and Continental: Deposit c. 1292 – c. 1310.

ENGLAND (18 pennies):

Edward I: Bristol (1) – 3c, 1; Canterbury (3) – 3c–d, 1; 4a, 2; Durham (2) – 2b, 1; 10ab, 1; London (9) – 1c, 1; 2b, 3; 3c, 1; 3g, 1; 4a, 1; 4b, 1; 4e/4d, 1; Newcastle (1) – 3e, 1; uncertain mint (2) – 2b, 1 fragment; 2–3?, 1 fragment.

IRELAND (1 penny):

Edward I: Waterford (1) – Dolley 2, 2 fragments of the same coin

SCOTLAND (4 pennies):

Alexander III, second coinage: B/M, 1; Ma, 1; Mc2/D, 1; ?E1/D, 1.

CONTINENTAL (4 sterlings):

Jean d'Avesnes, Valenciennes, Mayhew 241, 1; John I of Brabant, M 43, 1; M 44–47, 1; Arnold V of Looz, ?Hasselt, M 62, 1.

Discovery and deposition:

Found spread in ploughsoil in the same area as the 1991 find, and from the same hoard. Declared to be Treasure Trove and allocated to Scottish Borders Museums (formerly Roxburgh District Museum Service).

LIST OF COINS

An asterisk indicates an illustrated coin.

<i>Number</i>		<i>Weight in grammes</i>
	ENGLAND	
	Edward I pennies (SCBI North 1989 classification) ²	
	<i>Bristol</i>	
1	3c; h2, S1, R1; face 2a; slightly chipped	1.28
	<i>Canterbury</i>	
2	3c–d; uncertain lettering; face 3; slightly buckled	1.22
3	4a2 (SCBIN 207); slightly bent	1.34
4	4a2; bent	1.25
	<i>Durham</i>	
5	2b; fragment	0.82
6	10ab3a	0.75
	<i>London</i>	
7	1c: V/V; crown 2 (SCBIN 32); slightly buckled; slightly chipped	1.31
8–10	2b (SCBIN 60); 8 buckled; 9 chipped; 10 slightly buckled	1.40, 1.18, 1.06
11	3c; h2, S2?, R?; face 1; slightly bent	1.28
12	3g2; S3/S?; stops 1; slightly buckled	1.24
13	4a4; unbarred A; oval face (SCBIN 205); double struck on obverse	1.37
14	4b	1.33
15	4e/4d; early crown and hair (SCBIN 255); slightly buckled	1.27
	<i>Newcastle</i>	
16	3e; two fragments	0.94
	<i>Uncertain mint</i>	
17	2b; fragment; buckled	0.75
18	2–3 ?; fragment	0.37

² J. J. North, *The J. J. North Collection. Edwardian English Silver Coins 1279–1351* (= SCBI 39), Oxford, 1989.

IRELAND

Edward I penny (Dolley classification)³*Waterford*

- | | | |
|----|------------------|------|
| 19 | 2; two fragments | 0.87 |
|----|------------------|------|

SCOTLAND

Alexander III pennies, second coinage (Stewart and North classification)⁴

- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 20 | B/M; GRA; hair c; slightly bent; slight edge damage | 1.33 |
| 21 | Ma; chipped; slightly buckled | 1.06 |
| 22 | Mc2/D; 26 points; slightly buckled at edge | 1.27 |
| 23* | ?E1/D; 25 points; unusual bust with ?broken hair-punch, giving strand of hair curving upwards; barred As; initial cross appears potent; other obverse lettering as class E; badly chipped | 1.21 |

CONTINENTAL

Sterlings (Mayhew 1983 classification)⁵

- | | | |
|----|---|------|
| 24 | Jean d'Avesnes, Valenciennes (M 24); badly chipped | 1.11 |
| 25 | John I of Brabant (M 43); buckled; slightly chipped | 1.18 |
| 26 | John I of Brabant (M 44-47); fragment | 0.44 |
| 27 | Arnold V of Looz, ? Hasselt (M 62) | 1.19 |

Sherifflatts, Thankerton, Lanarkshire (1996)

Thirty-seven English pennies of Edward I were recovered by Mr John McLaren when metal-detecting in a field at Sherifflatts Farm. No evidence of a container was located. The coins were declared to be Treasure Trove and allocated to Biggar Museum.

The find-spot was in a field under grass, surrounded on three sides by a burn. There are no visible structural features in the immediate area today, but the following late eighteenth-century description may be significant:

On a round hill at the foot of Tinto is a circle, surrounded with large stones, erected on one end, close to one another. At a distance of ten yards, there is another wall nearly resembling the former. In this place a large mound of earth is erected. This was probably a Sheriffs Court, where, on a certain day, the adjacent country attended to have justice done.

The name of the adjacent farm seems to favour this tradition, for it is called 'Sheriff Flats'. According to immemorial tradition, a bullock's skin full of gold lies buried in this place.⁶

The farmer on whose land the coins were found has stated that the hill or mound of earth was removed some twenty years ago. Five acres of the field were quarried and the stones removed for road-building, the topsoil then being spread over the level field. The original source of the topsoil is unknown, however, and there is now no way of telling whether the coins were originally buried in this area or brought in from elsewhere with topsoil. Burial of a hoard in a spot which could easily be relocated through its proximity to a large and visible monument would have been no more than sensible, however.

The latest coins in the hoard are two pennies of class 10cf2b, dating from c. 1307, and no less than twenty-one of the thirty-seven coins belong to 10cf1-2. Since pennies of some of the later sub-categories of class 10cf are by no means uncommon, it may be suggested that the hoard was concealed in or soon after 1307. This must have been a time of uncertainty for the

³ R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Irish Mints of Edward I in the Light of the Coin-Hoards from Ireland and Great Britain', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 66, section C (1968), 235-97.

⁴ B.H.I.H. Stewart and J.J. North, 'Classification of the Single-Cross Sterlings of Alexander III', *BNJ* 60 (1990), 37-64.

⁵ N.J. Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type*, Oxford, 1983.

⁶ *Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, vol. VIII: *Parish of Covington*, p. 201. The writer is grateful to the finder, Mr McLaren, for this extract and for passing on further information from the farmer.

inhabitants of Lanarkshire. Although Edward II's army reached no further north than Cumnock, in Ayrshire, in August 1307, Bruce's army then marched northwards through Lanarkshire on its way to counter the Comyns in the Highlands. In December 1308 the castle at Rutherglen was besieged by Edward Bruce and recaptured, and that at Dumbarton may have been surrendered to Bruce in 1309. In 1310 Edward II's second expedition sent armies through Biggar, Lanark and Glasgow.⁷

The mint distribution within the hoard follows the expected pattern for groups of coins of this period taken from circulation in Scotland, with products of the three northern English mints (Durham, Newcastle and Berwick) dominating along with those of London (thirteen and fourteen coins respectively), and the minor southern mints poorly represented. Statistically the presence of one or two Scottish pennies of Alexander III might have been expected in a hoard of this size and date, however.

Summary

A summary of the hoard in the *Inventory* format might be as follows:

SHERIFFLATTS, Thankerton, Lanarkshire, 1996
37 AR English. Deposit c. 1307+

Edward I: Berwick (2) – Blunt 1, 2; Bristol (1) – 2b, 1; Bury St Edmunds (2) – 10ab, 1; 10cf, 1; Canterbury (7) – 9b, 1; 10ab, 1; 10cf, 5; Durham (9) – 9b, 1; 10ab, 1; 10cf, 7; London (14) – 3c, 1; 4a, 1; 9b, 3; 10ab, 1; 10cf, 8; Newcastle (2) – 9b, 1; 10x, 1.

Discovery and Deposition: Found by metal-detector in a field at Sherifflatts Farm. Declared to be Treasure Trove and allocated to Biggar Museum.

LIST OF COINS

An asterisk indicates an illustrated coin

Number		Weight in grammes
	ENGLAND	
	Edward I pennies (<i>SCBI</i> North 1989 classification)	
	<i>Berwick</i>	
1	1; wide face; crescent stops; VILL/ABE/REV/VICI	1.28
2	1; wide face; crescent stops; VILL/[A]BE/RE[V]/[VI]CI	1.31
	<i>Bristol</i>	
3	2b (<i>SCBIN</i> 63–4)	1.36
	<i>Bury St Edmunds</i>	
4	10ab5; 'broken' S (appears unbroken on obverse); chipped	1.27
5	10cf2a; A1, E1, h1, N1; DNHYB // DNV/NDI; as <i>SCBIN</i> 620	1.32
	<i>Canterbury</i>	
6	9b1; ?unbarred 1 / pot-hook Ns; star	1.31
7	10ab5; late lettering with R1 on reverse	1.42
8	10cf1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 588 etc)	1.44
9	10cf1; some poor striking	1.35
10*	10cf2a; A2, E2?, h?, N1; reversed N in DNS	1.42
11	10cf2a; A2, E2, h2, N2; slightly chipped	1.34
12	10cf2b; A2, D2, E2, h3, N2	1.32

⁷ G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 3rd. edition, Edinburgh, reprinted 1992, pp.

167, 174 and 191; *Atlas of Scottish History*, edited by P.G.B. McNeill and H.L. MacQueen, Edinburgh, 1996, pp. 97 and 99.

<i>Durham</i>		
13*	9b(2?); plain cross; pot-hook Ns; no star; local reverse die; some poor and double striking	1.42
14	10ab5; angular/uncertain S	1.45
15	10cf1; cross moline (<i>SCBIN</i> 594–6)	1.47
16	10cf1; cross moline; obverse double-struck; poorly struck overall; slightly chipped	1.40
17	10cf1; uncertain initial mark; about half of coin	0.76
18	10cf2a; cross moline; A2, E?, h1, N1	1.31
19	10cf2a; cross moline; A2, E?, h1, N2 / E2	1.38
20	10cf2a; uncertain initial mark; A2, E?, h?, N2; uneven striking	1.26
21	10cf2?; very poorly struck	1.17
<i>London</i>		
22	3c; face 1; h2, R2, S1	1.43
23	4a3 (<i>SCBIN</i> 202); chipped	1.23
24	9b1; pot-hook Ns; no star (<i>SCBIN</i> 374)	1.38
25–26	9b2; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 429)	1.37, 1.36
27	10ab5; late lettering; uncertain R	1.35
28	10cf1; round G; thick lettering, with uncertain S on reverse (? late 10ab5); some poor striking	1.40
29	10cf1; angular S on reverse	1.40
30*	10cf1; S on reverse has thin waist and serifs	1.37
31–32	10cf1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 578 etc); both slightly chipped	1.40, 1.33
33	10cf2a; A1, E1, h?, N1	1.33
34	10cf2a; A2, E2, h2, N2	1.47
35	10cf2b; A2, D1, E2, h3, N2; flawed hair	1.38
<i>Newcastle</i>		
36	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star; VILL' (<i>SCBIN</i> 410); chipped	1.38
37	10x (9b1/10ab3); VILL./NOVI	1.37

Wandel, Crawford, Lanarkshire (1997)

Thirty-seven English pennies of Edward I–II and one Scottish penny of Alexander III were found by Mr Tom Hislop while metal-detecting in a grass field near to where the Wandel Burn flows into the River Clyde. The coins were found in a fairly discrete scatter of about ten metres in diameter, in the upper ploughsoil and turf. No trace of any container was located, and the coins recovered may represent those disturbed and scattered from a deeper deposition site. The number of incomplete, chipped or buckled coins in the group tends to support this theory. A single continental sterling was subsequently found in the same area by Mr N. Clark. The hoard was declared to be Treasure Trove and allocated to Biggar Museum.

The latest coins were two class 15b pennies, of Bury St Edmunds and Durham, giving a *terminus post quem* for deposition of c. 1321–2. With such a small sample, however, the absence of 15c and 15d pennies is not significant, and any date up to around the mid 1340s is equally probable on purely numismatic grounds. There is no obvious military context for the burial of this hoard. Although the death of Robert Bruce led to attempts by Edward Baliol and by Edward III to conquer Scotland in the early 1330s, events in this period largely occurred far away from Lanarkshire. The money may simply have been buried for safe-keeping.

Only one coin is individually of note, this being a Berwick mint penny of class 4b, apparently without a pellet on the breast (catalogue no. 1, **Pl. 9**). The coin is sufficiently well struck to suggest that the pellet was omitted from the die.

Summary

A summary of the hoard in the *Inventory* format could be as follows:

WANDEL, Crawford, Lanarkshire, 1997

39 AR English, Scottish and Continental. Deposit c. 1321–45

ENGLAND (37 pennies):

Edward I-II: Berwick (3) – 4b, 1; 4c, 2; Bristol (1) – 3c, 1; Bury St Edmunds (2) – 10cf, 1; 15b, 1; Canterbury (6) – 9b, 2; 10ab, 1; 10cf, 3; Durham (7) – 3g, 1; 9b, 1; 10cf, 3; 11a, 1; 15b, 1; London (18) – 2b, 2; 3(g?), 1; 10ab, 4; 10cf, 10; 11a, 1.

SCOTLAND (1 penny):

Alexander III, second coinage: Stewart and North E2.

CONTINENTAL (1 sterling):

John the Blind, Luxemburg, Mayhew 257.

Discovery and Deposition: In a field near the confluence of the Wandel Burn and the River Clyde. Found by metal-detector in an area of diameter c. 10 m. Declared to be Treasure Trove and allocated to Biggar Museum.

LIST OF COINS

An asterisk indicates an illustrated coin

<i>Number</i>		<i>Weight in grammes</i>
ENGLAND		
Edward I-II pennies (SCBI North classification)		
<i>Berwick</i>		
1*	4b; no pellet on breast; slightly bent	1.36
2-3	4c; solid eyes (SCBIN 1141-2)	1.39, 1.21
<i>Bristol</i>		
4	3c; h2, S1, R?; face 2b; incomplete	1.05
<i>Bury St Edmunds</i>		
5	10cf2a; A2, E2, h2?, N1?; very slightly bent	1.12
6	15b (SCBIN 932); chipped	1.11
<i>Canterbury</i>		
7	9b2; pot-hook Ns; no star; incomplete	1.02
8	9b; pot-hook Ns; fragment	0.44
9	10ab5; uncertain S / unbroken 'broken' S; chipped	1.03
10	10cf2a; A2, E?, h3, N2; chipped; bent	1.04
11	10ab3a; hYB?; flat S; incomplete	1.02
12	10cf5b	1.34
<i>Durham</i>		
13	3g2; S?/S3; stops 1; chipped; buckled	1.26
14	9b1; cross moline; Roman / unbarred 1 Ns; contractive marks; star; slightly chipped	1.47
15	10cf2a; cross moline; A2, E2, h?, N2; double-striking on obverse; slightly bent	1.34
16	10cf3b1; cross moline; obverse very weakly struck	1.30
17	10cf3b2; seriffed N on obverse	1.22
18	11a2 (Bek); incomplete	1.17
19	15b; lion and lis initial mark, partially illegible; slightly buckled	1.45
<i>London</i>		
20-21	2b (SCBIN 60); 20 incomplete; 21 buckled and slightly chipped	1.11, 1.09
22	3(g?); crescent stops; double-struck; blank turned over between strikings; fragment	0.65
23	10ab3a/10ab2; hYB?; with apostrophe overlapping cross arm; uncertain S	1.32
24	10ab5; angular S on both sides; incomplete	1.15
25	10ab5; late lettering on obverse	1.13
26	10ab5; late crown and lettering (SCBIN 547); broken and repaired; slightly chipped; slightly bent	1.32
27	10cf1; thick lettering on obverse; clipped; slightly buckled	1.01
28-29	10cf1 (SCBIN 578 etc); 25 slightly double-struck on reverse; 26 bent and very slightly chipped	1.36, 1.33
30	10cf2a; A2, E1?, h1?, N2; slightly bent	1.39
31	10cf3a1; face 1	1.36

32	10cf3a3 (<i>SCBIN</i> 660–2)	1.35
33	10cf3b2; sinister hair Mayfield; straight-sided Is on reverse	1.26
34	10cf5a1; hYB: (<i>SCBIN</i> 725)	1.31
35	10cf5a1; broken O	1.32
36	10cf5b; L of LON over a C; slightly buckled	1.25
37	11a2; clipped and slightly chipped	1.01
SCOTLAND (1 penny)		
38	Alexander III, second coinage, Stewart and North E2, 20 points; bent; about half of legendary circle missing	0.94
CONTINENTAL (1 sterling)		
39	John the Blind, Luxemburg, Mayhew 257	1.33

Croal Chapel, Closeburn, Dumfriesshire (1996)

This parcel of 220 coins belongs to the hoard originally located in 1844.⁸ Research by Mr Jim Rankine, of Dumfries, led him to the find-spot, which he then searched with a metal-detector. The coins were subsequently claimed as Treasure Trove and allocated to Dumfries Museum.

Old accounts state that over 10,000 coins were found in 1844 during ploughing, and that most of them were carried away by local people and sold or melted down.⁹ Three groats and eight pennies, assumed to have come from this hoard, were presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1846, but these coins can no longer be identified. Knowledge of the contents of the hoard was confined to a record that it contained pennies of Edward I, II and III and of Alexander III and groats of Edward III and David II. On this basis its date of deposit was given a *terminus post quem* of 1357.

This dating is supported by the evidence of the 1996 finds, the latest of which was a groat of David II's second coinage, Stewart type A4, belonging to the earliest part of the 1357–67 issue. The latest English coins were a groat and two pennies of Edward III's pre-Treaty series G. Of the 220 coins, all but sixteen were English, the remainder comprising three Irish pennies, three Scottish pennies as well as the groat, and nine continental sterlings and 'Edward' imitations.

Although this find provides little new evidence, it is extremely useful both to have some confirmation of the range of coins which must have been included in the 1844 find and to have this random selection preserved in a public collection. In addition, a number of the coins are of note insofar as they represent variations from the norm. Many of these display minor differences or die-cutting errors (see catalogue and plates). Of greater interest is an unusual penny of the Berwick mint (catalogue no. 2, **Pl. 9**), which the writer has been unable to reconcile with any one recorded class. Stylistically it seems more likely to be a genuine Berwick product than an imitation, and the pellet ornaments in the crown are paralleled on a class 2b penny recorded by North (*SCBIN* 1130), but it has EDWA in the obverse legend and a trifoliate crown. The rarest coin in the parcel is the Irish class 5 penny of the Cork mint (catalogue no. 207, **Pl. 10**).

Summary

A summary of the find in the *Inventory* format could be as follows:

⁸ J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards AD 600–1500*, Oxford, 1956, 33, nos. 92 and 93; D.M. Metcalf, 'The Evidence of Scottish Coin Hoards for Monetary History', *Coinage in Medieval Scotland*, edited by D.M.

Metcalf (= BAR British Series 45), Oxford, 1977, pp. 42–43, no. 145.

⁹ J. Lindsay, *A View of the Coinage of Scotland*, Cork, 1845, p. 269.

CLOSEBURN (CROAL CHAPEL), Dumfriesshire (supplementary), 1996
220 AR English, Irish, Scottish and Continental.

ENGLAND (4 groats, 200 pennies):

Edward I-II (185 pennies): Berwick (5) – Blunt 1, 1; ?2b var., 1; 4a, 2; 4b, 1; Bristol (8) – 3c-d, 1; 3d, 2; 3g, 1; 9b, 3; Bury St Edmunds (7) – 10ab, 1; 10cf, 4; 11b, 2; Canterbury (53) – 2b, 1; 3b, 1; 3c-d, 1; 3g, 3; 4a, 2; 4c, 1; 4d, 1; 4e, 1; 7a, 1; 9b, 1; 10ab, 6; 10cf, 25; 11a, 1; 11b, 3; 12a, 1; 14, 1; 15b, 3; Durham (13) – 2b, 1; 9b, 1; 10cf, 5; 11a, 2; 11b, 2; 14, 1; 15c, 1; Lincoln (2) – 3d, 1; 3g, 1; London (87) – 1c, 2; 1d, 1; 2a, 3; 2b, 6; 3a, 1; 3c, 1; 3d, 2; 3g, 7; 4a, 1; 4b, 3; 4d/4c, 1; 4d, 3; 4e, 1; 5b/5a, 1; 8a, 1; 8b, 1; 8b-c, 1; 9a, 1; 9b, 11; 10ab, 4; 10cf, 19; 11a, 5; 11b, 2; 13, 1; 14, 2; 15a, 1; 15b, 1; 15c, 3; uncertain class, 1; Newcastle (3) – 9b, 1; 10x, 1; 10ab, 1; York (Royal) (3) – 3b, 1; 9b, 2.
Edward III (4 groats, 15 pennies): 3rd coinage pennies: London (6) – 1a or 2, 1; 2, 2; 3, 1; 4, 2; York (Archiepiscopal) (1) – 4, 1; 4th coinage, pre-Treaty series groats: London (3) – C, 1; E, 1; G(a), 1; York (1) – E, 1; pre-Treaty series pennies: London (2) – C, 1; C/E?, 1; Durham (6) – C?, 1; D or E, 1; F, 1; G(a), 2; C-G, 1.
Uncertain reign (4 pennies/fragments): London – 1 + 1 fragment; uncertain mint – 2 fragments.

IRELAND (3 pennies):

Edward I: Dublin – Dolley 6, 1; Waterford – 2, 1; Cork – 5, 1.

SCOTLAND (1 groat, 3 pennies):

Alexander III, second series penny: Stewart and North E2/D, 26 points.

David II first coinage pennies: Group I (large lettering), 1; Group II (small lettering), 1; second coinage groat, Stewart A4.

CONTINENTAL (9 sterling):

Robert de Béthune, Alost – Mayhew 209 var., 1; M 214, 1; Gaucher de Châtillon, Yves – M 239, 1; John the Blind, Luxemburg – M 265, 1; Méraude – M 277 var., 1; 'Edward' type sterling imitations – 4.

LIST OF COINS

An asterisk indicates an illustrated coin.

Number		Weight in grammes
ENGLAND		
Edward I-II pennies (SCBI North 1989 classification)		
<i>Berwick</i>		
1	1; wide face; hYD; VILL/ABE/REV/VICI; slightly buckled	1.19
2*	Uncertain class (? 2b var.), or possibly an imitation; [+ED]WARANGLDN[ShYB]; pellet jewels in trifoliate crown; VILL/ABE/[]/VICI; both sides off-centre	1.00
3	4a (SCBIN 1137-8); partially clipped	0.96
4	4a; cracked; uneven striking	1.04
5	4b (SCBIN 1139); double-struck	1.01
<i>Bristol</i>		
6	3c-d; h2, S2, R2 / S1, R1; chipped and corroded	1.06
7	3d; h2, S2, R2; thick neck; partially clipped	1.02
8	3d; h2, S2, R3? / S1, R2?; thick neck; slightly buckled	1.11
9	3g1; S2 / S1; stops 1	1.31
10	9b1; unbarred 1 Ns; contractive mark after hYB, and possibly elsewhere; star; double-struck	1.32
11	9b1; unbarred 1 Ns; contractive marks; ? no star; slightly bent	1.05
12-13	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star; 13 partially clipped	1.12, 1.10
<i>Bury St Edmunds</i>		
14	10ab5 (definitive); clipped	0.98
15	10cf2a; A1, E2, h1, N1 (SCBIN 621)	1.42
16	10cf2a; A2, E2, h3, N2 (SCBIN 622)	1.18
17-18	10cf6; 17 unevenly struck with reverse off-centre	1.39, 1.24
19-20	11b2	1.37, 1.24
<i>Canterbury</i>		
21	2b	1.06
22	3b; crescent marks	1.23

23	3c-d; h2, S1, R? / S?, R1; uneven striking	1.11
24	3g1; S2; stops 3; ? slightly clipped	1.06
25*	3g1; S2 / S?; stops 1; O of TOR over an A	1.33
26	3g3; S3; stops 1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 194); clipped	1.05
27	4a1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 206); ? partially clipped	1.18
28	4a3 (<i>SCBIN</i> 209); clipped	1.05
29	4c; straight-sided letters	1.16
30	4d; incomplete and in five fragments	1.12
31	4e; slight double-striking, giving appearance of only two pellets on breast; slightly clipped	1.17
32	7a; composite / non-composite S; incurved letters (<i>SCBIN</i> 310); clipped	1.01
33	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 382); slightly bent	1.36
34	10ab3a; ANGL' hYB'; top-tilted S; reverse of 10ab2 (<i>SCBIN</i> 520); ? slightly clipped	1.27
35	10ab5 (definitive)	1.24
36-37	10ab5; late As; 36 slightly clipped; 37 chipped	1.10, 1.09
38	10ab5; late lettering	1.26
39	10ab5 (late); R1; hY-B (the pellet possibly just a die flaw)	1.12
40	10cf1 (early); EDWARANGDNShYB; thick lettering; reverse of late 10ab5 (<i>SCBIN</i> 572-3); ? slightly clipped	1.04
41-44	10cf1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 588 etc); 44 double-struck and slightly buckled at edge	1.40, 1.34, 1.28, 1.24
45*	10cf1; CIVI/TAS/CAN/TAS; bent	1.22
46-47	10cf2a; A2, E2, h?, N2; 47 partially clipped	1.26, 1.09
48	10cf2a; A2, E?, h2, N2	1.22
49	10cf3a1; face 2	1.30
50	10cf3a1; uncertain face type; obverse abraded	1.21
51	10cf3a3 (<i>SCBIN</i> 665)	1.32
52-54	10cf3b1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 685-7); 52 slightly buckled; 53 slightly clipped	1.27, 1.20, 1.12
55	10cf3b1; ? unbarred N on reverse	1.31
56*	10cf3b1; broken chin; broken O; T of TOR struck over another letter (?C)	1.18
57	10cf3b1(?); bent; much surface corrosion	0.97
58-59	10cf3b2; 59 double-struck	1.36, 1.16
60	10cf3b2; hYB'; seriffed A on obverse; flawed sinister hair-punch; broken O	1.35
61	10cf3b2; straight-sided lettering and open E on obverse, with double-barred N in DNS; flawed sinister hair-punch; broken O (as <i>SCBIN</i> 712); partially clipped; slightly corroded	1.06
62	10cf5b; late As on obverse	1.36
63	10cf5b; late As	1.33
64*	10cf5b; malformed N on reverse	1.03
65	11a1(?); clipped	0.97
66	11b2; B punched over another letter; slightly buckled	1.19
67	11b2; EDWARR (<i>SCBIN</i> 828); slightly buckled; partially clipped	1.12
68	11b3; R1; slightly clipped	1.12
69	12a; ornaments pellet / trefoil; thick initial cross	1.29
70	14; new E; very slightly chipped	1.25
71-73	15b (<i>SCBIN</i> 926-7); obverse of 71 slightly double-struck	1.41, 1.39, 1.13
	<i>Durham</i>	
74	2b (<i>SCBIN</i> 71-2)	
75	9b2; plain cross; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 443-4); slightly irregular flan	1.21
76	10cf1(?); cross moline	1.07
77	10cf2a; cross moline; A2, E2?, h2, N1	1.22
78	10cf2 (uncertain sub-class); plain cross; A2, E?, h3, N2 / E2; uneven striking	1.23
79	10cf3a3; cross moline over plain cross; uneven striking	1.29
80	10cf3b1; cross moline	1.27
81	11a2 (Bek); cross moline	1.34
82	11a2 (Bek); initial mark off flan; uneven striking; very slightly bent	1.20
83	11b1; very slightly buckled	1.18
84*	11b3; EDWARRANGL'; small wedge stop; R3	1.40
85	14; new E / broken E; one lis before and one behind lion	1.20
86	15c; one lis before lion; uneven striking; slightly buckled	1.24
	<i>Lincoln</i>	
87	3d(?); h2, S2, R1 / S?; thick neck; crescent marks, resembling solid half-circles on obverse, which is poorly struck and / or very worn	1.13
88	3g2 or 3g3; S3 / S?; stops 1 / 1	1.31

<i>London</i>		
89	1c; N / N; crown 2	1.35
90*	1c; N / N ; crown 2, but <u>no</u> sinister ornament; this crown variant, and unbarred N, not recorded by North	1.19
91	1d; N / N ; face 1; variety crown (SCBIN 44)	1.17
92	2a; N / N ; face 2 (SCBIN 47); buckled	1.13
93	2a; N / N ; face 2 (SCBIN 50); partially clipped	1.10
94	2a; N / N ; uncertain face	1.06
95*	2b; central fleur of crown retains scrolls; dexter hair has three strands and an inner curl	1.21
96	2b; central fleur of crown retains scrolls (SCBIN 59); double-struck in reverse legend	1.07
97–100	2b (SCBIN 60); 97 and 98 partially clipped; 99 clipped; 100 full flan but very light weight	1.02, 0.97, 0.91, 0.77
101	3a (SCBIN 76); partially clipped	0.96
102	3c; h1, S1, R2; face 1; slightly clipped	1.07
103–104	3d; h2, S2, R2; thick neck; blocked crescent marks resembling solid half-circles; 103 partially clipped; 104 slightly clipped	1.07, 0.99
105	3g1; S2; stops 2(?)	1.36
106	3g1; S2 / S2; uncertain stops; partially clipped	0.95
107	3g1(?); S2 / S2; stops 1(?), the second small and resembling a solid half-circle	1.10
108–109	3g2; S3 / S1; stops 1	1.29, 1.14
110	3g2; S3 / S2; uncertain stops	1.18
111	3g2; S3; stops 4(?)	1.01
112	4a1; uneven striking; double-struck on both sides	1.25
113	4b (SCBIN 224)	1.10
114–115	4b; broken hair	1.27, 1.26
116	4d/4c; barred As on obverse; bent	1.33
117	4d (SCBIN 247)	1.29
118	4d; pellet on obverse unclear, but probably present	1.15
119	4d; pellet on reverse not visible, but coin clipped in this area; cracked	1.01
120	4e (SCBIN 257); slightly buckled	1.38
121	5b/5a (SCBIN 272–3); slightly clipped (?)	1.13
122*	8a; crown of 6–7a; face 2; EDWR'ANGL'; incurved / straight lettering; T of TAS punched over a C	1.36
123	8b; face 2; straight / incurved lettering; double-barred N in DNS; slightly buckled	1.20
124	8b–8c; incurved lettering; obverse corroded	0.94
125	9a2; straight letters; unbarred As and Ns; star (SCBIN 352); slightly clipped	1.19
126	9b1; unbarred 1 Ns; star (SCBIN 370)	1.28
127	9b1; unbarred 1 Ns; ? star	1.32
128	9b1; pot-hook / unbarred 1 Ns; no star (SCBIN 371); clipped	1.04
129–130	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star (SCBIN 372); 129 very slightly buckled	1.25, 1.08
131	9b1; pot-hook Ns; ? no star; clipped	1.06
132	9b(?)1; pot-hook Ns, that in ANGL apparently double-barred (probably unintentional); star; slightly clipped	1.32
133–135	9b2; pot-hook Ns; star (SCBIN 429); 134 slightly clipped (?); 135 partially clipped	1.35, 1.18, 1.12
136*	9b2; pot-hook Ns; star; EDWRIGLDHISIIHYB	1.20
137	10ab2; reverse of 9a with incurved lettering and unbarred Ns	1.24
138	10ab3a; hYB' (?); ? flat S; reverse of 9b with pot-hook Ns; obverse off-centre with legend double-struck	1.38
139	10ab3b; apparently unbroken 'broken' S on each side (? = flat S of 10ab3a ?); two small pellets in angle of L of LON; uneven striking	1.20
140	10ab5; angular S on both sides	1.27
141	10cf1 (SCBIN 578 etc); partially clipped	1.11
142	10cf1; pellet after R (cf SCBIN 585); slightly clipped	1.05
143–144	10cf1; 143 double-struck in both legends and slightly clipped; 144 clipped	1.08, 0.96
145	10cf2a; A1, E1, h1, N1 (SCBIN 602); slightly clipped	1.21
146	10cf2a; A1, E1, h1, N1 / A2; very slightly clipped	1.28
147	10cf2a; A1, E2?, h1, N1; both sides slightly off-centre; dexter jewel present, but obscured by 'ghost' of reverse cross	1.32
148	10cf2a; A1, E?, h1, N1; slightly buckled	1.19
149	10cf2a; A2, E2?, h2, N2	1.18
150	10cf3a3 (SCBIN 660–2)	1.28

151	10cf3a3; hYB'	1.37
152–154	10cf3b1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 676–7); 154 partially clipped	1.35, 1.28, 1.06
155	10cf3b1; broken chin; unbarred Ns on reverse; very slightly buckled; slightly clipped	1.13
156	10cf3b2(?); straight-sided I and N and seriffed A on reverse; broken O in DON; surfaces corroded	1.04
157	10cf5a1	1.33
158*	10cf5a1–2 transitional (?); bust much flattened, but appears to have dexter hair from wire-line C punch and sinister from Mayfield; broken As of 10cf5a1 on obverse; reverse has A and T of 10cf5a2; S of uncertain form on both sides	1.33
159	10cf5b; uneven striking; clipped	1.03
160	11a1/11a2; tilted S on obverse; hYB'; slightly buckled	1.36
161–164	11a2; 163 partially clipped; 164 slightly clipped and slightly bent	1.33, 1.27, 1.12, 1.11
165	11b1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 807–8); ? slightly clipped	1.07
166*	11b2; EDWARR; broken jewel apparently repaired with pellet; partially clipped	1.03
167	13; R2; broken E (<i>SCBIN</i> 881)	1.43
168	14; new E (<i>SCBIN</i> 899); slightly bent	1.33
169*	14; new E; L of LON punched over a C	1.43
170	15a (<i>SCBIN</i> 919–20); cracked; has been folded in half	1.26
171	15b (<i>SCBIN</i> 925); clipped	1.12
172–174	15c (<i>SCBIN</i> 934–5); 173 partially clipped; 174 clipped	1.35, 1.13, 1.01
175	Uncertain class; bent, chipped and corroded <i>Newcastle</i>	0.85
176	9b1; pot-hook Ns; ? no star; slightly bent	1.21
177	10x (9b1/10ab3); VILL/NOVI (<i>SCBIN</i> 478–9); partially clipped	1.03
178	10ab2; ANGL'hYB['?'] // VILL['?'] / NOVI <i>York (Royal)</i>	1.20
179	3b; crescent and comma marks (<i>SCBIN</i> 90); slightly buckled	1.08
180	9b1; pot-hook Ns; no star (<i>SCBIN</i> 418–9); obverse off-centre	1.18
181	9b(1?); pot-hook / uncertain Ns; star; both sides off-centre	1.04
Edward III pennies, third ('florin') coinage (<i>SCBI</i> North 1989 classification)		
<i>London</i>		
182	1a or 2; reverse 1; flattening and double-striking in legends	1.24
183–184	2; round face; reverse 1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 1078)	1.23, 1.23
185	3; reverse 2	1.04
186–187	4; reverse 1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 1084); 186 bent; 187 clipped	1.17, 1.06
<i>York (Archiepiscopal)</i>		
188*	4 (<i>SCBIN</i> 1090–1)	1.04
Edward III, fourth coinage, pre-Treaty series		
<i>London</i>		
189*	Groat, C; D'.G'	4.50
190*	Groat, E; lis on breast	4.31
191*	Groat, G(a); annulet below bust and in first reverse quarter	4.60
192	Penny, C; reverse off-centre	1.25
193*	Penny, C/E (?); obverse initial mark cross 1 punched over an E (?); no stops; unbarred Ns on reverse; nothing between pellets	0.97
<i>York</i>		
194*	Groat, E; normal R	4.56
<i>Durham</i>		
195	Penny, C (?); wedge-tailed R and reversed N on obverse; CIVI / TAS / D[] / []E; severe edge damage in upper part of obverse	0.99
196*	Penny, D or E; [] RDVSRCAIIGLI (?) // CIVI / TA[S] / DVII@ / L[MI]@; crozier head before legend	1.15
197	Penny, F	1.19
198–199*	Pennies, G(a); no annulet on reverse; 199 partially clipped	1.11, 1.08
200	Penny, C-G; uneven striking; clipped	0.79
Uncertain king		
201	Penny of London, perhaps a forgery; obverse mutilated	0.83

202	About a quarter of a penny of London	0.29
203	About a quarter of a penny; uncertain mint	0.23
204	Fragment of a penny; uncertain mint	0.14
IRELAND		
Edward I pennies (Dolley classification)		
<i>Dublin</i>		
205	6: clipped and worn	1.11
<i>Waterford</i>		
206	2: ·€DW·R' / ANGL'D / NSHYB' // CIVI / TAS / WATE / RFOR'	1.36
<i>Cork</i>		
207*	5: obverse from same die as SCBI Ulster Museum 531; ¹⁰ reverse die not represented there	1.13
SCOTLAND		
Alexander III		
208	Penny, second coinage, Stewart and North E2/D, 26 points	1.09
David II		
209*	Penny, first coinage, second issue, Group I (large lettering); obverse as Richardson 2 and Add. 107; reverse as Richardson 1 and 2 ¹¹	1.05
210*	Penny, first coinage, second issue, Group II (small lettering)	0.98
211*	Groat, second coinage, Stewart A4 (pellets in spandrels; saltire stops), Edinburgh; some corrosion and pitting	3.96
CONTINENTAL		
Sterlings (Mayhew 1983 classification)		
212*	Robert de Béthune, Alost; M 209 var. (AIO / STAn); closed & s: flan cracked	1.30
213	Robert de Béthune, Alost; M 214	1.32
214	Gaucher de Châtillon, Yves; M 239	1.28
215	John the Blind, Luxemburg; M 265	0.95
216	John the Blind, Méraude; M 277 var. (NON / [ETA] /); broken in two and chipped	0.66
217	'Edward' type, EDWRE series; M 374j (? same obverse die); CIVI / TAS / IOH / DOI, with S reversed	0.86
218*	'Edward' type; €DWRANGL'DNSHYB['?] // CIVI / TA[S] / LON / DON; bifoliate crown; stub-tailed R; comma stop; both sides off-centre; slightly bent	0.98
219*	'Edward' type; €D[W]ARAHGLDHSYB // CIVI / TA[S] / LOH / DOH; bifoliate crown	1.16
220*	'Edward' type; €DWRA[NGL]DNSHYB // CIVI[I] / [T]AS / DV[] / [] ¼; crude style; much flattening	1.15

Culdoich Farm, near Inverness, 1996

Fifteen groats and one half-groat of Robert III (1390–1406) were found with the aid of metal-detectors by Mr L. Pentecost-Ingram and Mr A. Snell. The find-spot was in a grass field, and most of the coins were in a tight group. A number of lead fragments, which may or may not have formed part of a container, were found in association with the coins. The hoard was claimed as Treasure Trove and allocated to Inverness Museum.

All the coins belonged to the first and second issues of the first – heavy – coinage, issued up to about 1400+. Coins of the second – light – coinage are rare, however, and the absence of any from such a small hoard is of no significance for dating purposes. The fact that there were no examples of the relatively common first 'fleur-de-lys' issue groats of James I, minting of which commenced after the king's release from captivity in England in 1424, indicates that the hoard may have been deposited by c. 1425. The worn condition of many of the coins suggests

¹⁰ M. Dolley and W. Seaby, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 10: Ulster Museum, Belfast, Part 1 – Anglo-Irish Coins John – Edward III*, Oxford, 1968.

¹¹ A.B. Richardson, *Catalogue of the Scottish Coins in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1901.

that they may have circulated for some considerable while, and an estimated date of deposition might thus be c. 1420–25.

Coin hoards of this period from Scotland are not common, and only that found at Fortrose, Cromarty, in 1880 – comprising c. 1100 groats – has been described with any care at all. Groats from Fortrose were used by Edward Burns in classifying the issues of Robert III.¹² No hoard concluding with coins of Robert III was recorded between 1880 and 1996.

Summary

A summary of the hoard in the *Inventory* format could be as follows:

CULDOICH FARM, near Inverness, 1997
16 AR Scottish. Deposit c. 1420–25 (?)

Robert III, heavy coinage, first issue groats – Edinburgh, 7; second issue groats – Perth, 4; Edinburgh, 3; Aberdeen, 1; second issue half-groat – Edinburgh, 1.

Discovery and deposition: Found by metal-detector, closely grouped in a grass field. Declared to be Treasure Trove and allocated to Inverness Museum.

LIST OF COINS

An asterisk indicates an illustrated coin.

Number

SCOTLAND

Robert III, heavy coinage, first issue, groats (Edinburgh mint only)

- 1 Type and legends as Burns 2, Fig. 340.¹³
2.66 g.; die axis 2.5; slightly clipped; slight accretion on obverse; fairly worn.
- 2 Type and legends as Burns 2, Fig. 340.
2.61 g.; die axis 6.0; reverse slightly off-centre; crack at 11.0 (obverse); slightly bent; much surface accretion; fairly worn.
- 3 Type and legends as Burns 5, Fig. 348.
2.61 g.; die axis 5.0; some clipping and surface accretion; fairly worn.
- 4 Type and legends as Burns 6 (not illustrated), and from the same dies.
2.56 g.; die axis 3.0; slightly bent; some surface corrosion and accretion; moderate wear.
- 5 Type and legends as Burns 7c, Fig. 349D, and from the same dies.
2.31 g.; die axis 12.0; partially clipped; slight surface accretion; fairly worn.
- 6 Type and legends as Burns 10, Fig. 353.
2.46 g.; die axis 4.0; some flattening; fairly worn.
- 7* Type and legends as Burns 13, Fig. 355 (nine-arc tressure), but with SCOTORVM; as Richardson no. 79, and from same obverse die.¹⁴
2.46 g.; die axis 3.5; broken in two; fairly worn.

Heavy coinage, second issue, groats

Perth

- 8 Obverse as Burns 23 (not illustrated), and from same die; reverse as Burns 22, Fig. 365, and from same die.
2.57 g.; die axis 3.0; some flattening in legends; slight accretion; fairly worn.
- 9* Variant of Burns 25, Fig. 374 (+ROBERTVS+DGI+G[RA]CIA+R&X+SCOTORVM – 7-arc tressure; +DnS+P+ / T&CTOR / mS+I+L / J / J / J TORMS // VILL / A+D& / +P&R / ThX); obverse from same die as Richardson nos. 135–139
2.56 g.; die axis 9.5; some double-striking; chipped; fairly worn.

¹² E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1887, vol. 1, pp. 285–329.

¹³ E. Burns, as in n. 12

¹⁴ A.B. Richardson, as in n. 11, p. 69

- 10 Type and legends as Burns 26, Fig. 389, and probably from the same obverse die.
2.55 g.; die axis 7.0; broken into three pieces, with a fourth piece missing;
obverse weakly struck; fairly worn.
- 11 Type and legends as Burns 32c, Fig. 398F, and from the same dies.
2.58 g.; die axis 11.0; much flattening; slight accretion; worn.
Edinburgh
- 12 Type and legends as Burns 33, Fig. 379, and probably from the same obverse die.
2.41 g.; die axis 4.5; much weak striking / flattening; slight accretion; worn.
- 13 Type and legends as Burns 40, Fig. 391, but condition too poor for die-linking.
2.46 g.; die axis 10.5; double-struck; obverse very weak; chipped and cracked; worn.
- 14* Variant of Burns 40, Fig. 391 (obverse legend the same, except SCOTTORRV[m];
reverse reads +DnSP / T&C TOR / mSf LD / A[] // A&D / InBV / RGh / VILL);
obverse from same die as Richardson nos. 219–221.
2.58 g.; die axis 11.0; reverse slightly off-centre; edge nick at 3.0 (obverse);
some flattening; fairly worn.
Aberdeen
- 15* Type and legends as Burns 49b, Fig. 402B, and from same dies.
3.30 g.; die axis 11.0; reverse slightly off-centre; a little weakness in places;
moderate wear.

Heavy coinage, second issue, half-groat
Edinburgh
- 16* Obverse as Burns 14, Fig. 386, and from same die; reverse reads
+DnSP / [T&C] TOR / mS[] LIB / ATORMS // VILL / [A] &D / InBV / RGh.
1.21 g.; die axis 4.0; double and uneven striking; slight accretion; moderate wear.

Culross, Fife, 1996

This 'hoard' comprised 121 counterfeits of billon placks of James VI of the period 1583–90. The circumstances of their discovery are a matter of dispute, with three different metal-detectorists involved, and although the weight of evidence seems to point towards one particular area as the source of all the coins, there is no actual proof, and for this reason the names of those involved will not be published here.

The first batch of thirty-three coins were claimed by the finder to have come from three different locations on Bordie Moor, several miles to the north-west of Culross. This information was accepted, and the coins were claimed as Treasure Trove and allocated to Dunfermline Museum. Some time later a further eighty-one coins were submitted by a second finder, who reported that they had been found in a field on the north-western outskirts of Culross itself, and a third group of seven coins by another finder, who claimed that the first finder had been with him on the Culross site when the first group of coins was found. The second and third groups were also claimed as Treasure Trove and allocated to Dunfermline Museum.

Study of all three groups of coins has confirmed that they are undoubtedly all products of the same counterfeiting workshop, and since no other coins were found with them, it is reasonable to assume that they were lost or discarded before they could be introduced into circulation. Although it is theoretically possible that parcels of counterfeits could have been concealed in different places, therefore, the probability is much higher that all the coins were found in a small area close to Culross, where the counterfeiter is likely to have operated. The eighty-eight coins reported by the finders to have come from the field at Culross had been spread across an area now divided into two by a field boundary, presumably as a result of ploughing over a substantial period.

The date of manufacture of the counterfeit placks can be tied fairly closely to that of the minting of the originals on which they were based – 1583–90. An Act of Parliament of 6 August 1591 called for the return to the mint of all base metal coins then in circulation, except for the hardheads and half-hardheads issued in 1588, and specifically mentioning the placks

and half-placks (*aucht and four penny pecis*), the minting of which had ceased only the previous year.¹⁵ Although it is clear that vast numbers of the placks were not, in fact, surrendered, an edict of this type is likely to have discouraged further counterfeiting, and it may be surmised that the items from Culross were probably buried or discarded in or before 1591.

Counterfeits of placks of this issue are relatively common as individual finds and, although there are no surviving contemporary documents referring to these, it is probable that they were made in substantial numbers. In the light of the drastic anti-counterfeiting measures taken earlier in James VI's reign, when the billon coins of Mary, Queen of Scots, were first devalued and then demonetised, it would not have been surprising if the recall of the placks so soon after they had been issued was prompted by concern about large-scale forgery. Since the originals contained enough silver to give them a generally silvery appearance, it is also possible that people were finding it profitable to melt them down for their metal content.

Analysis carried out by Paul Wilthew, of the Department of Conservation and Analytical Research of the National Museums of Scotland, has provided information on both the metal content of the forgeries and their probable method of manufacture (see Appendix, below). This process seems to have comprised the casting of individual blanks in a copper-zinc alloy, the striking of coins on cold or at most slightly heated blanks, and finally the application of a thin layer of tin to create the effect of a silvery billon. The workshop is likely to have been of a fairly primitive nature, therefore, without the wherewithal to roll out sheet metal and cut out individual blanks.

The Culross counterfeits are based on placks belonging to type 3, i.e. those having an inner circle between the legend and central design on each side. Three obverse dies and two reverse dies are represented among the 121 coins, with obverses A and B being paired with reverse 1 and obverse C with reverse 2 on all coins where this can be established. (Examples of coins from all five dies are illustrated on **Pl. 10**). The corroded condition of most of the coins has rendered exact reading of the dies fairly difficult, even with so many coins available, but the following readings and descriptions represent a fairly reliable composite picture of each:

Obverse A: · I · A · C · O · B Q · D · G · R · 2 · C · O · ; thin shield with single inner and outer borders

Obverse B: · I · A · C · O · B Q · D · G · R 2 C · O · ; thin shield with double inner and single outer borders

Obverse C: · I A C O B [] D G · R · S C O · ; wider shield with double inner and single outer borders

Reverse 1: · O · P · P · I · D · E · D · I · B · ; five spikes in thistle flower-head; lowest leaf on right branch touches inner circle

Reverse 2: · O · P · P · I · D · E · D · I · B · ; ? nine spikes in thistle flower-head; lowest leaf on right branch is c. 0.7 mm from inner circle

The number of coins with each combination of dies is as follows. The range of weights within each group is appended, but the poor condition of the coins renders individual weights meaningless. Die axes are remarkably consistent, and these are given for the coins in each group.

Obverse A / Reverse 1: 36 coins; 1.13 – 3.14 g; die axis 12.5 (34), 6.5 (2)

Obverse A / ? Reverse 1: 2 coins; 1.78, 1.91 g; die axis 12.5 (2)

Obverse B / Reverse 1: 47 coins; 1.13 – 2.59 g; die axis 12.5 (47)

¹⁵ R.W. Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1876, vol. 1, 117–19.

Obverse B / ? Reverse 1: 5 coins; 1.45 – 2.55 g; die axis 12.5 (5)

? Obverse B / Reverse 1: 1 coin; 1.86 g; die axis 12.5

? Obverse B / ? Reverse 1: 2 coins; 1.81, 2.27 g; die axis 12.5 (2)

Obverse ? / Reverse 1: 2 coins; 1.54, 2.20 g; die axis 12.5 (2)

Obverse C / Reverse 2: 22 coins; 1.39 – 3.04 g; die axis 6.0 (21), ?6.0 (1)

Obverse C / Reverse ? : 1 coin; 1.53 g; die axis 6.0

? Obverse C / Reverse ? : 1 coin; 1.84 g; die axis 12.0 (double-struck; blank turned over between strikings)

Obverse ? / Reverse 2: 1 coin; 1.56 g; die axis 6.0

The discrete pairing of dies C and 2, and the consistent difference in die axis between this group and the other coins, suggest that there may have been two counterfeiters operating in parallel within the same workshop.

Summary

A summary of the hoard in the *Inventory* format could be as follows:

CULROSS, Fife, 1996.

121 tinned copper alloy counterfeits of Scottish billon placks of James VI. Deposit c. 1583–91.

Discovery and deposition: Found by three metal-detectorists. Find-spot disputed, but probably in a field on the outskirts of Culross. Claimed as Treasure Trove and allocated to Dunfermline Museum. One coin, which was already broken when found, was subjected to partially destructive analysis and has been retained by the Department of Conservation and Analytical Research of the National Museums of Scotland.

APPENDIX: ANALYSIS AND METALLOGRAPHIC EXAMINATION OF COINS FROM THE CULROSS HOARD¹⁶

P.T. WILTHEW

Introduction

Non-destructive surface analysis of ten coins from the hoard was carried out to establish the composition of the plating and whether the base metal was a similar alloy in each case. A sample was subsequently taken from one broken coin and a metallographic section prepared with the aim of investigating the probable method of manufacture of the coin, and to allow quantitative analysis of the base metal and plating.

Analysis

Surface analysis was carried out using an Oxford Instruments ED2000 energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence system (XRF). The areas analysed were not abraded back to clean metal and the results will have been affected by the presence of unrepresentative surface material.

The metallographic section was prepared by mounting the sample in polyester resin and polishing the section using diamond pastes to a ¼ micron finish. The section was examined using both optical and in a scanning electron microscopy. The section was examined unetched and after etching in ferric chloride solution. Analyses were

¹⁶ This is a condensed version of the full report originally supplied. Copies of the latter can be obtained on request from Paul

Wilthew, Department of Conservation and Analytical Research, Royal Museum, Chambers Street, Edinburgh, EH1 1JF.

carried out using a Link Systems AN10000 energy dispersive analysis system (EDX) in a scanning electron microscope with the sample unetched.

Although the XRF analysis did not provide reliable quantitative results for the original base metal composition it did confirm that the base metal of all the coins analysed was a copper-zinc alloy containing minor amounts of lead and tin. Three analyses of the base metal of the sectioned coin were carried out using EDX. Areas free of corrosion were selected and the average of the three results was:

Copper 79% Zinc 17.6% Tin 2.1% Lead 1.3%

The relative precision of the above result is about 3% for copper, 5% for zinc and 10%–20% for tin and lead.

Analysis of plated areas confirmed that the plating was tin rich. Semi-quantitative surface analysis of four plated areas on two coins using EDX indicated a copper:tin atomic ratio of between 1.1 and 1.3 to 1. This suggested that the plating comprised η phase (Cu_6Sn_5) intermetallic crystals, an identification which was confirmed by EDX analysis of the plating in section.

Metallographic examination

Metallographic examination of the section showed that the coin had a single phase dendritic microstructure with small globules of lead in the interdendritic areas. Some porosity was present as were sulphide inclusions. The coin was heavily corroded, including extensive penetration of cuprite corrosion into the coin from both faces resulting from preferential corrosion of the dendrites, but a core of corrosion free base metal remained. Small areas of tinning were present, but there was little evidence for diffusion of tin to any depth into the base metal. Areas of essentially pure copper were also present on the surface indicating redeposition of copper during burial which explains the 'coppery' appearance of patches on the surface of the coin.

Although corroded the original surface of the edge of the coin appeared to be rounded in section and there was no indication from the microstructural evidence preserved in the corrosion products of distortion which might have been expected had the blank been cut from a larger sheet. There was no evidence of significant working of the metal prior to striking but parallel slip (or strain) lines were clearly visible, particularly near the surface of the coin. Incipient recrystallisation was present, particularly in the interdendritic regions which suggests that the coin had been reheated after casting, although it had not been fully cold worked and annealed or heavily hot worked.

Discussion

Although the coin has a largely dendritic microstructure the presence of slip (or strain) lines particularly near the surface of the coin indicates cold working and is therefore consistent with striking, but not at a sufficiently high temperature to allow annealing. The coin was therefore either struck cold or at most heated to a fairly low temperature. The incipient recrystallisation may be due to the coin having been heated for striking, but the heating involved in the tinning process may have been at least partially responsible.

The blank from which the coin was struck could have been cast as an individual blank or cut from a sheet. The cast dendritic microstructure with little evidence of working prior to striking suggests that the plack was struck from an individual cast blank.

Brass containing only minor amounts of tin and lead is capable of being either cold or hot worked. The metal used for the plack, brass containing about 17.5% zinc and a small amount of lead and tin, was therefore an appropriate choice for the purpose and alloys of this type were widely available in the late 16th century.

Both tinning and silvering of a copper alloy core are techniques commonly used to produce coin forgeries. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the placks from the Culross Hoard are tin-plated brass. The presence of η compound as the predominant intermetallic remaining in a tinned layer is consistent with wipe or hot dip tinning and suggests that any subsequent heating was to temperatures no higher than about 200°C – 250°C.¹⁷ Also, there was no evidence of distortion of the tinned layer as might be expected if the coin had been cold struck after tinning. It is probable, therefore, that tinning was the final process carried out, after the coin had been struck.

¹⁷ N. Meeks, 'Surface characterisation of tinned bronze, high-tin bronze and arsenical bronze', *Metal Plating and*

Patination, edited by S. La Niece and P. Craddock, Oxford, 1993, pp. 247–75.

Conclusions

Although the metallographic evidence was not entirely conclusive, a probable method of manufacture of the coin can be proposed. An individual blank was cast using brass containing about 17.5% zinc, and minor amounts of tin and lead. After limited working, at most, the blank was struck either cold or at a fairly low temperature. Finally a tin plating was applied.

Although only one coin was examined metallographically the similarity in the base metal composition and appearance of the other coins analysed suggests that all the coins were probably produced in a similar manner.

Such a method of manufacture is relatively straightforward, avoiding the need to produce sheet metal from which to cut the blanks or silver plating, which is a more complex process than tinning. It does not suggest that the counterfeit placks were produced in a particularly sophisticated workshop.



23



10



13



30



1



HORSLEYHILL

SHERIFFFLATS

WANDEL



2



25



45



56



64



84



90



95



122



136



158



166



169



188



189



190



191

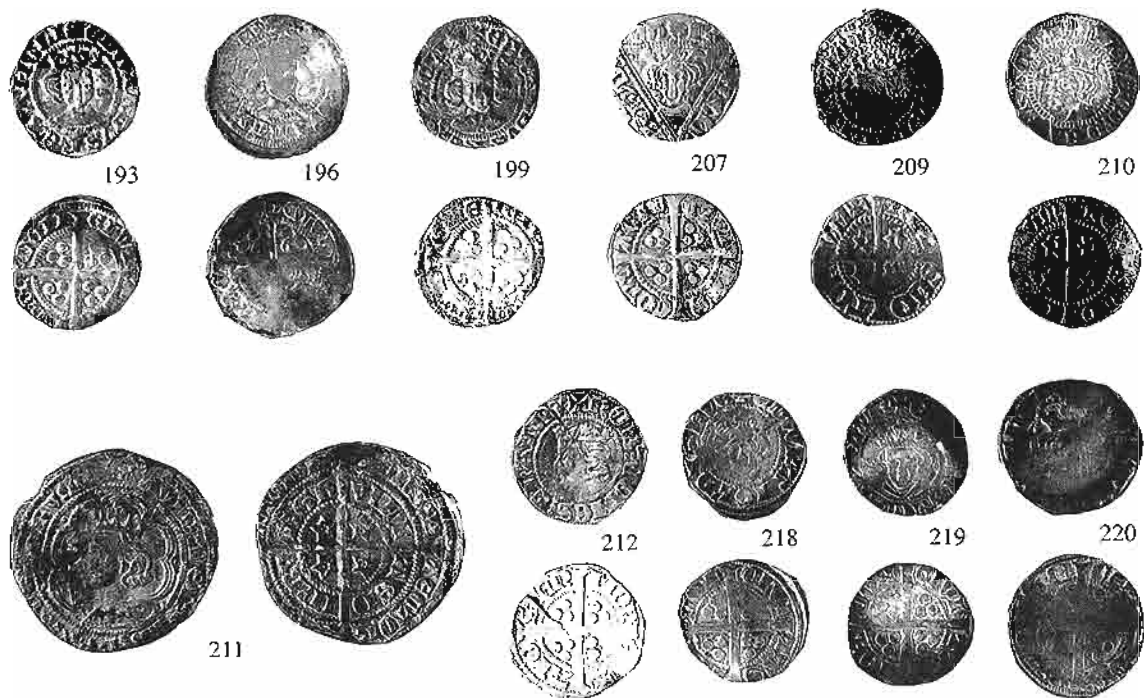


194



CROAL CHAPEL

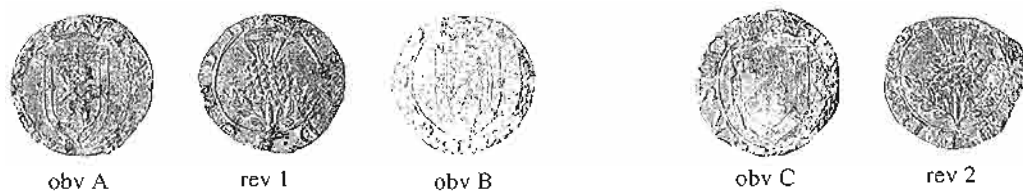
PLATE 10



CROAL CHAPEL



CULDOICH



CULROSS

HOLMES: SCOTTISH HOARDS (2)

MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN COIN FINDS FROM SOUTH FERRIBY, HUMBERSIDE

B.J. COOK

with RAY CAREY AND KEVIN LEAHY

Introduction

THE evidence for currency in daily use in later medieval and early modern England is beginning to attract more attention. Single finds of early medieval coins have for some years been recorded wherever possible, but this has not been done for the lost currency of other periods, largely because of the sheer scale of the task. The current creation of a national scheme for recording portable antiquities looks fair to remedy this situation, but it is also possible to draw on some individuals' collections of accumulated material made on particular sites. Some of these collections are the consequence of archaeological work, while others are the product of the focused endeavours of individual metal detectorists. Thus, there is beginning to appear a number of substantial groups of material from particular areas which have been systematically listed to create a body of evidence on which to draw. It is the purpose of this report to add to this material by presenting the finds made in the town of South Ferriby, South Humberside.

The historical context¹

The coins that form the basis of this study were found by Mr Walter Carlile over a period of twenty years' metal detecting in the parish of South Ferriby. In addition to the coins, Mr Carlile has found large numbers of other objects, ranging in date from the Neolithic period to very recent times. He records that the coin finds had no focus, but were found all over the parish.

South Ferriby is on the south bank of the Humber Estuary 50 km from the open sea. It lies on the north-west edge of the Lincolnshire chalk Wolds at a point where the River Ancholme, then a tidal creek of the Humber, joins the estuary. This area has a long history of occupation from the Iron Age onwards, being the eponymous site for the South Ferriby type staters. There is considerable evidence of Roman occupation in the area, but unfortunately the erosion of the Humber bank has led to the loss of large parts of the site. Finds of objects suggest that South Ferriby continued to be important throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

The Domesday Survey of 1086 shows South Ferriby divided between a manor belonging to Gilbert Tison, and the soke of Barton on Humber, held by Gilbert de Gand. Tison's manor was assessed at eight pounds in Domesday and had the same value in 1066, suggesting that the village was little affected by the Norman Conquest. The value of de Gand's holding was

Acknowledgments. Prime acknowledgment must go to Mr Walter Carlile, the finder and preserver of the South Ferriby finds, thousands more objects than are here listed. Kevin Leahy of Scunthorpe Museum was the main mover in ensuring that the coins would be brought to the British Museum for identification, and Ray Carey was generous with his accumulated material on the history of South Ferriby. Marion

Archibald and Gareth Williams kindly identified the pre-1180 coins in the find.

¹ This section is based on material accumulated, and work in progress, by Ray Carey, with contributions from Kevin Leahy. Domesday references can be examined in C.W. Foster and T. Longley, *The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey*, Lincoln Record Society 19 (1924).

included in the assessment for the Barton soke and cannot be separated. Both estates included ferries rendering three pounds, and the Disputes section of Domesday contains a complaint against de Gand's men for collecting a new toll on 'bread, fish, hides and many other things'. A church was recorded, although the present structure is largely post-medieval. There was also a mill which rendered ten shillings.

During the twelfth century more than half of the land in South Ferriby passed into monastic hands. Thirteen monastic houses came to have holdings there, most of these being small and farmed out. The more substantial properties held by Stixwold and Thornholme priories were administered directly as granges. Although some property was held by Yorkshire houses (St Mary's, York and Guisborough), most of the monasteries involved were in Lincolnshire. Acquiring property in South Ferriby may have been advantageous in that this gave access to a port through which wool could potentially be exported. A number of the North Yorkshire monasteries had a quittance to allow a free crossing of the Humber to South Ferriby. In 1180–95 Guisborough Abbey received as a grant from the de Hesse family the right to free passage of the Tison ferry from Hesse to South Ferriby. A crossing of the Humber at Ferriby would allow travellers to proceed south by boat up the river Ancholme to within 20 km of Lincoln.

There is no record of South Ferriby ever having had a market, which circumstance may be reflected in the dispersed pattern of coin finds. The absence of a market could be a result of part of South Ferriby being in the soke of Barton on Humber. Barton had a market, and the lord may not have wished any competition for his own prerogatives.

South Ferriby was also over-shadowed by Barton as a port, but there is some evidence for deep-sea shipping in the village during the medieval period. In 1218 two ships belonging to John de Raskall of Ferriby and the Barton Adventurers were attacked by Scottish pirates who killed some of their men. The Patent Rolls contain references to South Ferriby ships carrying provisions for the king in 1311, 1327 and 1335. In 1364–73 there are mentions of 'customs watchers' at Ferriby who were to exercise 'diligent security'.

Lay subsidy rolls from the 1350s suggest that South Ferriby was hit badly by the Black Death of 1349. The dissolution of the monasteries must have impacted on the village: whilst twenty-one people had goods valued at more than forty shillings in 1525, by 1546 this had fallen to eleven people. This may represent a consolidation of estates following the dissolution. A major event in the history of South Ferriby was the improvement of the River Alcholme in 1635–40. On occasions almost a thousand labourers were employed on this scheme, being paid from Ferriby Sluice. This must have impacted on the local economy.

From the point of view of coin losses, the most relevant circumstance about South Ferriby may have been its status as a minor port. The ferries may also have played a part in the movement of cattle and other produce from the north down to London. It would have been difficult to suppress the development of an ad-hoc market around the landing place, though the distribution of coins gives no support to this. While the evidence for the economic history of South Ferriby is far from conclusive, it does suggest some trends and shows the potential of studies of this type.

The Coins

The coin finds from the area range from the Roman period to the twentieth century. This report publishes and considers the material from the medieval and modern periods up to around 1800. Though some later material was examined along with the rest, this was just the silver coinage, not copper and bronze issues, and thus was unrepresentative of currency. The record of this later material remains on file at the British Museum and Scunthorpe Museum.

TABLE 1. Summary of South Ferriby finds

a. Medieval											
	4d	2d	1d	½d	¼d	Others	Total				
Anglo-Saxon			1	1			2				
Norman/Stephen			2	2	1		5				
Tealby			1	2	1		4				
Short Cross			21	47	11	4	83				
Long Cross			11	52	13		77				
Sterling to 1351			79	11	9		99				
1351–1412		1	21	2			24				
1412–1464/5			7	9			16				
1464/5–1526	2	8	10	2			22				
1526–44		3	4	3			10				
1544–	3	1	5				9				
b. Early Modern											
	2/6	1s	6d	4d	3d	2d	1½d	1d	½d	¼d	1/8d
Mary				3				2			
Elizabeth I		2	8	4	7	19	1	14			
James I						2				1	2
Charles I	1		2			3		1			
Commonwealth						2				4	2
Private tokens										4	2
Charles II					1	1					
William III		1	6								
Uncertain											
Late 17th–18thc		2	10			1					

Early Medieval

There are hardly any English coins from South Ferriby from before the twelfth century: just a single sceat, and cut halfpennies of Edward the Confessor and William I, of which the latter at least could conceivably be a twelfth century deposit. It is clearly only in the twelfth century, and possibly from some decades into it, that coin use in the area became sufficiently great to generate a reasonable degree of coin loss. Apart from an early penny of Henry I of Type IV, the finds consist of a penny and halfpenny of Type XV, a cut farthing of Stephen's Waford type, and four Tealby pieces of Henry II.

Short Cross

There are 83 Short Cross coins amongst the South Ferriby finds, plus another five of the contemporary Scottish Long Cross and Stars coinage of William I, which can be considered as part of the English currency of the period. Of these, 21 are whole pennies, 47 cut halfpennies and 11 cut farthings, with four uncertain fragments. The classes and mints represented break down as outlined in Table 2.

A comparison of these findings with other similar groups of material, such as Llanfaes and Vintry, London (a riverfront City site), is interesting. Llanfaes was published in this *Journal* by Edward Besly,² but as the Vintry material as yet remains on file at the British Museum and

² Edward Besly, 'Short Cross and other medieval coins from Llanfaes, Anglesey', *BNJ* 65 (1995), 46–82.

TABLE 2

	1-2	3	4	5	5-6	6	7	8	unc.	Total
London	4	1	2	9		11	6		1	34
Canterbury			4	2		1	10		1	18
Bury St Edmunds				1			1			2
Durham				1			1			2
Lynn				1						1
Northampton				5						5
York				1						1
Uncertain	2	1	2	3	2	2	1		7	20
Total	6	2	8	23	2	14	19		9	83

Museum of London, a brief outline of its relevant contents may be useful. The site has provided considerable numbers of coin losses from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a good representation of thirteenth and early fourteenth century material, before tailing off swiftly thereafter, indicating a decline of activity on the site from c. 1350. Its finds include 36 late Saxon and early Norman coins, 52 coins of Henry I and Stephen, 25 Tealby coins, 91 Short Cross, 35 Long Cross, and 55 Edwardian sterling. As a site in apparent receipt of consistent coin loss from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, it appears valid to give it some credit as a sort of control against which to judge other groups of material from the same period.

The finds from South Ferriby compare well to the Llanfaes material, with, for instance, classes 1-3 forming just under 10% of the former, compared to 12% at Llanfaes. There is, however, a clear contrast with Vintry: there nearly 30% of the identifiable Short Cross coins belonged to this early group.³ As already noted, the Vintry finds are distinct, as befits an active, portside city site, in its evidence of coin loss throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, against one coin of Stephen and four Tealbies at Llanfaes and the same at South Ferriby. The Dunwich finds also include one Henry I and one Tealby, with sixty Short Cross coins.⁴ The South Ferriby site, like Llanfaes and Dunwich, thus shows signs of emerging as one of significant coin use from around the very end of the twelfth century.

In the context of this argument, one must bear in mind the general point that the older coins within an issue have, obviously, a longer period in which to be lost, and might be expected to be well-represented – perhaps over-represented – in single finds (a reverse effect of the idea that newer coins tend to be over-represented in hoards). In some compensation for this, older coin would, however, tend to form a gradually decreasing proportion of the coin available to be lost. But whatever the factors, they must have applied consistently to all sites, the currency at this period being so thoroughly well-mixed, and distinctive variables are likely to be the consequences of changes in the circumstances of the particular site, enabling comparison between them to be potentially meaningful.

In the case of South Ferriby, as for the others, it is probable that at least some of the coins of early classes found there were deposited at a later stage. Some evidence suggests that earlier coins figure disproportionately among cut fractions later in the currency period,⁵ but it is difficult to hold up South Ferriby as evidence for this. Although only two out of the eight coins of classes 1-3 are whole pennies, most later classes are no better, e.g. the two pennies to

³ 62 out of 89.

⁴ Robert Seaman, 'A further find of coins from Dunwich', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 30-1.

⁵ See Besly, as in n. 2, p. 51; and M.M. Archibald and B.J.

Cook, *English Medieval Coin Hoards I. Tealby, Short Cross and Long Cross* (in press), in no. 17 'Spørle with Palgrave, Norfolk 1995'.

nineteen fractions for class 5, and three pennies to eleven fractions for class 6. Only in class 7 is there parity, at nine to nine.

The South Ferriby finds differ from Llanfaes in the proportions of such cut fractions present. Whereas at Llanfaes over half the finds were of full pennies, these amount to less than a quarter of the South Ferriby coins, in which halfpennies dominated, providing 56.6% of the finds, with eleven (13%) farthings. The contemporary Scottish issues present consisted of one penny, three halfpennies and one farthing. The Dunwich coins were almost all cut fractions. Vintry may again provide a good background against which to judge these differences. Its Saxon and Norman coins, up to the time of Henry II, show a fairly consistent proportion of halfpennies, 58%, against about 20% each in pennies and farthings. For the Tealby period, the halfpenny percentage is down to 52%, but for the Short Cross it is down yet further to 42%, with both pennies and farthings at around 30%. Only in the Edwardian period do pennies take over as the principal coin lost, with nearly 75% of the coins. Halfpenny losses as compared to pennies were clearly still more plentiful at South Ferriby than at Vintry, but in this context, it is Llanfaes that looks the odd one out, with its predominant pennies. This may reflect different approaches to the use of money in north-western Wales, or alternatively a difference in the functions of the various sites: Llanfaes was clearly the site of a market, whereas Vintry and South Ferriby were not; Vintry was a metropolitan site, and South Ferriby a village one. Perhaps one should expect a higher level of losses of the larger denominations at sites of more intense commercial activity.

The weights of the South Ferriby coins are in general rather poorer than the Llanfaes ones, with a mean of 1.29g against 1.32g for the pennies, and 0.59g against 0.63g for the halfpennies. The latter is the most divergent, at 81% of standard against 86% at Llanfaes. These are all, of course, well below the levels of most hoard coins, though the halfpennies of the rather rough Canwell hoard are similar, at an average of 0.6g.⁶

The range of mints present at South Ferriby appears unexceptional, to the point that the most local mints, Lincoln and York, are hardly represented. The overall range of classes is presented below, along with the figures for Llanfaes and general Welsh finds,⁷ and Vintry (amended slightly from the figures quoted in Besly).

TABLE 3. Short Cross coins from South Ferriby

		1-4	5+6	7	8	Total
South Ferriby		16	39	19	—	74
	%	21.6	52.7	25.7		
Vintry		26	29	7	—	62
	%	41.9	46.8	11.2		
Llanfaes		67	133	85	5	290
	%	23.1	45.8	29.3	1.7	
Wales		20	21	18	1	60
	%	33.3	35.0	30.0	1.6	

(Figures exclude uncertain)

These figures would appear to suggest that coin loss at South Ferriby began to grow at about the same time as Llanfaes, but that it peaked earlier, around the same time as at Vintry, perhaps in consequence of some local economic stimulus, in the first decades of the thirteenth century.

⁶ Besly, as in n. 2, p. 59; Archibald and Cook, no. 9 'Canwell, Staffordshire, 1992'.

⁷ Besly, as in n. 2, p. 52.

Long Cross

Given that Long Cross coins were in production for less than half as long as the Short Cross ones, the specimens at South Ferriby clearly represent a more frequent rate of loss, 2.5 per year against 1.2, though this would be a less dramatic difference if it was felt that the factors conducive to substantial coin loss were only really at play on the site from around 1200, as was suggested above (e.g. if Short Cross loss averaged out at 1.8 coins per year). Even so, the observation appears to be valid. The Vintry figures of 91 Short Cross to 35 Long Cross would more appropriately reflect an even level of loss for the two coinage periods, perhaps even suggesting a dip in the level of Long Cross losses.

TABLE 4. Long Cross coins from South Ferriby

	<i>1-2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Unc.</i>	<i>Total</i>
London	3	16	14		33
Canterbury		4	10		14
Bristol		1			1
Bury St Edmunds		1			1
Exeter		1			1
Gloucester		2			2
Lincoln		1			1
Northampton		1			1
Norwich		1			1
York		1			1
Uncertain	1	6	7	6	20
Counterfeits				3	3
	4	35	31	6	79

Even more than the Llanfaes finds, The South Ferriby Long Cross material stresses the earlier classes 1-3 over 5, with 53% against 43% for the latter, and 40.6% to 51.9% for the Welsh site. The Vintry coins are comparatively scarcer for this issue, just 35, of which 27 are identifiable. They break down into 52 % of classes 1-3 and 48% of class 5. It is also the case that the Llanfaes coins include a higher proportion of sub-classes 5f-h than do the South Ferriby ones. It may be reasonable, at least provisionally, to suggest that the Vintry and South Ferriby profiles should be viewed as typical for the period. The variation visible at Llanfaes may not be felt to be so great as to be meaningful, although it does apparently suggest a dip in the level of activity there in the late 1240s.

The significance of halfpennies at South Ferriby continues to be clear in the Long Cross period: they form 70% of the finds,⁸ but this does not appear to be out of the ordinary. Even at Llanfaes, halfpenny dominance (76.9%) is clear for its Long Cross issues.⁹ The smaller number of Long Cross coins at Vintry show a lesser proportion of halves (51%), but in favour of farthings (37%), not of pennies.

The weights of the Long Cross coins found at South Ferriby are very similar to the Short Cross finds there. The pennies weigh 89.7% of standard, against 88.4% for the Short Cross, and the halfpennies similarly average at 79% against 81.2%. In both groups about half of the halfpennies are below 82% of the standard. The factors affecting this segment of the currency were evidently constant throughout.

⁸ Scottish issues are included in this figure.

⁹ Besly, as in n. 2, p. 58.

Edwardian sterling 1279–1351

Edward I's coinage reform of 1279 saw a major change in the provision of small change in England, with the striking of relatively large quantities of round halfpennies and farthings. Regardless of the occasional finding of an apparently broken or cut late medieval coin, it seems clear that from this time the cutting of the penny to provide small change ceased to be an acceptable practice. This section treats the sterling period as lasting until 1351 since, although there was a weight reduction in place for Edward III's Third 'Florin' issue in 1344, hoard evidence suggests this did not eliminate much, if any, earlier currency. The 1351 reform would prove to be different, however.

The period 1279–1351 contained four stages from the point of view of the currency. The first ran from 1279 until *c.* 1299, when a partial recoinage was instituted to remove foreign imitations; then, following the large recoinage classes 9 and 10, the penny-dominated issues continued until *c.* 1330. The only coins struck in the 1330s and until 1344 were the Second Coinage halfpennies and farthings of Edward III. Finally, significant issues of all three denominations were resumed in 1344–51.

TABLE 5. Edwardian period pennies

Class	London	Canterbury	Bristol	Bury	Durham	Lincoln	Hull	York	Total
1	2								2
2	3								3
3	3		3			2		1	9
4	10	3							13
9	2	2			1		2		7
10ab	3	1			1				5
10cf	11	4		2	1				18
10?	1								1
11	2	2			1				5
13					1				1
14	2			1					3
15?		1							1
unc.	1								1
Florin	3				1				4
	42	14	3	3	6	2	2	1	73

TABLE 6. halfpennies and farthings

	3	Edward I–II			Edward III		Total
		10	10–11	unc.	Star-marked	Florin	
Halfpennies	1		1		5	3	10
Farthings	1	5	1	1	1		9

TABLE 7. other sterling period issues

	2d	1d	½d
Irish		4	1
Scottish		3 ¹⁰	2
Aquitaine			1
Continental	1 ¹¹	2	

¹⁰ This figure includes a crude, virtually copper counterfeit (Catalogue no. 493).

¹¹ A baudekin of Hainaut (Catalogue no. 472). For other finds of double sterlings in England, see B.J. Cook, 'Foreign

coins in medieval England', in *Local Coins, Foreign Coins: Italy and Europe 11th to 15th centuries. Proceedings of the Second Cambridge Numismatic Symposium*, edited by L. Travaini (in press), Appendix nos 117–120.

The finds appear to show a major shift in the use of money, with the penny seemingly becoming the coin of daily use. This may have been due to the lack of sufficient provision of the lesser coins, or to the impact of thirteenth-century inflation,¹² or, indeed, to a combination of the two. The mean weights of the sterling pennies at South Ferriby may give support to this view, as they average out at 1.19g, only 82.6% of the standard, whereas the Short and Long Cross pennies from the site were little more than 10% below standard. Edwardian pennies cannot be compared with these earlier issues without considering the consequences of their long currency (see below). The pennies of the chronologically more curtailed Llanfaes site were much better quality (92% of standard).

The level of coin loss in the sterling period at South Ferriby does not stand out against that visible in the Short and Long Cross periods: 1.5 coins per year against 1.2 for Short Cross and 2.5 for Long Cross, although this assumes that losses in the Short Cross period were constant from 1180, whereas, as already discussed, they may have been limited to the period following c. 1200. It must also be stressed, of course, that the sterling period did not conclude with a general recoinage, and there is considerable hoard evidence for the survival of numbers of its pennies in currency well into the fifteenth century. Hoard evidence suggests that Edwardian sterling formed about a quarter of the pennies available in 1420, and still about five per cent in the 1480s.¹³

The total number of sterling pennies recorded by the author in medieval hoards found in 1985–98 was around 5,000, out of which just six per cent came from hoards deposited between 1351 and 1464. However, looking at the metrology of the finds, about a quarter of the pennies were below the 18 grain penny standard, and sixteen per cent below the 15 grain standard. Hoards might be expected to under-represent poor-quality, older material, but there is also some evidence that older coin in hoards is often overweight;¹⁴ on the other hand, some of the light coin amongst the single finds may have been circulating before each relevant reform. Perhaps it would be reasonable to suggest a figure of around ten to fifteen per cent as the proportion of sterling present which may have survived in currency beyond 1351.¹⁵ Thus, it would not seem that making an allowance for later deposits would make too great a change in the overall picture.

Given this, it is the case that the face value of the lost coins was much greater in the sterling period: 7s.7d. against 3s.8½d. for the Short Cross and 3s.7½d. for the Long Cross. This might again support an inflationary context. Comparison of South Ferriby with Vintry and Llanfaes appears to suggest Vintry as less typical, as Table 8 shows, perhaps again reflecting some difference between an urban and a more rural setting, which favoured the availability or use of small change in the city.

The metrology of the coins of this period has to some extent been discussed above, but it may be worth noting the relatively good weight of farthings. Both the cut Long Cross and round sterling period farthings from South Ferriby have decent mean weights of around 90% of the standard, a circumstance echoed in the Llanfaes finds. Any assumption that the smallest denomination is more likely to be underweight appears to be unfounded.

¹² See, for instance, N.J. Mayhew, 'Money and prices from Henry II to Edward III', *Agricultural History Review* 35 (1987), 121–32; P.D.A. Harvey, 'The English inflation of 1180–1220', *Past and Present* 61 (1973), 26–9, and Mavis Mate, 'High prices in early fourteenth century England: causes and consequences', *Economic History Review* 28 (1975), 1–16.

¹³ See the table in M.M. Archibald, 'The Attenborough, Notts., 1966 hoard', *BNJ* 38 (1969), 60; also Craig Barclay, 'The Ryther Treasure Trove', *BNJ* 65 (1995), 136.

¹⁴ See for instance, Barclay, as in n. 13, pp. 137–8.

¹⁵ In a ground-breaking paper Stuart Rigold suggested that a third of all finds of each weight standard might survive into the next one. It is suggested provisionally here that this level may be on the high side, at least for Edwardian issues. See S. Rigold, 'Small change in the light of medieval site finds', in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs (1279–1344)*, edited by N.J. Mayhew (Oxford, 1977), at p. 79; also as amended in Mark Blackburn, 'What factors govern the number of coins found on an archaeological site?', in *Coins and Archaeology*, edited by H. Clarke and E. Schia (Oxford, 1989), at p. 19.

TABLE 8. coin loss on sites in the Edwardian period
(Scottish, Irish, Aquitanian and continental versions all included.)

		<i>Id</i>	$\frac{1}{2}d$	$\frac{1}{4}d$	<i>Total</i>
South Ferriby		82	14	9	105
	%	78.1	13.3	8.6	
Vintry		41	23	14	78
	%	52.6	29.5	17.9	
Llanfaes		59	5	7	71
	%	83.1	7.0	9.9	

Late Medieval

Late medieval currency falls into three divisions, delineated by the reductions in the weight standard in 1351, 1412, 1464/5 and 1526. However, there was no complete recoinage instituted during this time, and issues from earlier periods could and certainly did survive in currency, if their weight was not significantly in excess of the standard, as a result of wear or clipping. In his study of coin finds from archaeological contexts, Rigold suggested that such 'carry-overs' could be allowed for in the proportion of a third for each weight standard.¹⁶ Whilst such a figure may act as a useful corrective to the raw figures, there is also a large range of potential variables which can come into play, depending on the nature of the site, the denominations present, mint output both overall and for particular denominations, time elapse since the most recent weight reform, etc.

It is for the late medieval period that the South Ferriby finds can be said to come into their own as primary evidence, given the lack of available material from other, comparable sites. The Vintry material ceases fairly abruptly in the mid fourteenth century, and there are under ten finds from Llanfaes also. Inevitably, this means that there is little to give the particular case of South Ferriby any broader context for the use of small denomination money. An exception may be the finds from excavations in York, obviously a vastly more significant site, though only a few parts of it have been systematically investigated.¹⁷ The two sites are compared in Table 9, which also includes the totals of coins from Rigold's compilation of finds from a hundred archaeological sites.¹⁸

The pattern presented by these figures is fairly consistent throughout in that, within the total number of coins in each of the three groups for the late medieval period, a similar proportion represents each period of currency.

It appears, therefore, that the finds from South Ferriby have the appropriate profile for the later medieval period. Thus, as elsewhere, the level of coin loss on the site throughout this period falls dramatically to a miserable-seeming level of 0.4 coins per year pretty much throughout. Adding in some of the Edwardian sterling as long-lasting survivors would not lift this by much. A serious cash shortage does seem to be a feature of the early and mid fifteenth century,¹⁹ giving this consistently grim picture, compared to that for the thirteenth century. The history of the site gives some background to this, as it appears that the area suffered substantial depopulation from the Black Death, and there may have been other follow-on effects on the local economy, perhaps relating to the ferry traffic. Clear evidence from other substantial sites is really needed to give context to the South Ferriby material.

¹⁶ Rigold, as in n. 15, p. 79.

¹⁸ See note 13.

¹⁷ York material taken from E.J.E. Pirie, *Past-Roman Coins from York Excavations 1971-81*, in *The Archaeology of York* 18; *The Coins* (York, 1986).

¹⁹ See, P. Spufford, *Money and its use in medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 339-41 and 356-9.

TABLE 9. Late medieval finds from South Ferriby, York and other sites (including Irish, Scottish and continental imitations as appropriate)

		<i>4d</i>	<i>2d</i>	<i>1d</i>	$\frac{1}{2}d$	$\frac{1}{4}d$	<i>Total</i>	<i>% of finds at site</i>
1279-1351	South Ferriby			79	11	9	99	61.9
	York			43	3	1	47	63.5
	Rigold						196	55.5
1351-1412	South Ferriby		1	21	2		24	17.0
	York		2	15			17	23.0
	Rigold						69	19.8
1412-1464	South Ferriby			6	9		15	9.0
	York			6			6	8.1
	Rigold						40	11.3
1464-1544	South Ferriby	2	8	10	2		22	13.8
	York	1		3			4	5.4
	Rigold						48	13.6

What is clear is that the dominance of the penny in daily business, established in the Edwardian period, continued unabated, made necessary and unavoidable by the limited provision of low denominations which was a feature of the times. For the years 1351-1526 no farthings at all were found on the site, although there was a not insignificant proportion of halfpennies present: 21% (thirteen coins), rising to 27%, if the four early sixteenth-century Venetian soldini found are allowed to stand as halfpenny substitutes.²⁰ The importance of the York mint as the premier provider of pennies in the later middle ages is confirmed by the Ferriby finds, with 58% of them to its credit, to London a poor second, with 18%.

The appearance of larger denominations as a significant factor in the South Ferriby finds belongs to the reign of Henry VII, when halfgroats start to rival the penny for the first time amongst coin losses. From 1485 to 1544 there are as many halfgroats as pennies and halfpennies put together.

Early Modern

The purpose of recording early modern single finds must be to provide a better overall picture of the currency, to set against that given by the large number of hoards of the mid seventeenth century, dominated as these are by the larger silver denominations, and rarely including anything below the sixpence in value. To this end, what do the South Ferriby losses suggest?

Under the Tudors, the rate of coin loss seems to grow, from 0.43 coins a year in the period 1464-1526 (including the Venetian soldini as halfpenny equivalents), to about 0.6 a year in the later years of Henry VIII and the reign of Edward VI (with the onset of debasement making little difference to the actual number of coins lost). The numbers of coins of Mary and Elizabeth would seem to suggest a further rise to 1.2 coins a year for the second half of the century. The last figure would represent a frequency of coin loss not seen since the late thirteenth century, and might be thought to echo the circumstance of the similar size of the currency as a whole for these two periods. Looking at the value of the coins lost, the picture is a little different. For the early sixteenth century, debasement period losses stood at 2 pence or

²⁰ For the role of soldini, see P. Spufford, 'Continental coins in late medieval England', *BNJ* 32 (1964), 127-39.

more a year, against the just over a halfpenny a year seen from 1465 to 1544. People do not appear to have been treating their debased groats as they would fine silver ones. The figures would suggest, again at first sight, that under Elizabeth 3½ pence per year was being lost, perhaps significant evidence of the impact of the sixteenth-century inflation. However, there is again a problem in interpreting this evidence, as for both the rate of coin loss, and the value of coins lost, it is necessary somehow to take account of the survival in currency of many Marian groats²¹ and Elizabethan small change well into the seventeenth century. If the period c. 1550–1640 is considered instead, the aggregate coin losses are just 0.8 per year, up only a little on the early Tudor level, but, however, amounting to the rather more impressive 2.6 pence per year in terms of value.

The survival of late Tudor small change is put into context at South Ferriby by the limited impact of the early Stuarts' issues. Twelve coins with a face value of 4s.6d. represent James I and Charles I, and this is reduced to 2s. if a half-crown of Charles is discounted, though it is boosted up to about 5s. if Charles I's Scottish silver is included. In contrast, there are sixty coins, worth 14s.6½d., in money of Mary and Elizabeth. That Tudor small change continued to dominate into early Stuart times is difficult to doubt, though it is tricky to estimate by how much. The hoards of James I and Charles I which contain lesser denominations (virtually all groats, threepences and halfgroats) show an overwhelming Tudor bias in this level of the currency, despite the often poor condition and light weight of these older pieces.²² An exception is the Wyke hoard, which had sixty lesser coins of the Stuarts to 138 of Mary and Elizabeth, still a 70% dominance by the latter in terms of numbers (and more in terms of value).²³

Thus there remain problems in considering small change of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which a larger accumulation of evidence is probably needed to resolve, and South Ferriby is, of course, just one site with, no doubt, its own biases for this period as for others. It has been pointed out above, for instance, that there was a great, temporary expansion in building activity in the area in the 1630s. What does seem clear from the South Ferriby finds is that from the mid sixteenth century the coin of most common daily use was the halfgroat, taking over from the penny. The relatively large numbers of denominations above the halfgroat lost at South Ferriby also reinforce the impression of a shift in the use of currency, reflecting presumably the impact of inflation.

The limited role of early Stuart farthing tokens appears odd: whether the nature of the site had an impact here is difficult to ascertain. A likelier picture comes from the Commonwealth and early Restoration period finds of three halfgroats to four halfpennies and two farthings in private tokens. The tokens are also interesting in appearing to show South Ferriby as a significant point in a regional network of trade, perhaps consequent on its role as minor port and crossing place. There were no tokens issued in the town itself, and to find an example from nearby Hull is thus not a surprise, but the others come from further afield: from the regional capitals York and Lincoln, and yet further away, from Ripon and from Chesterfield in Derbyshire.

The late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century finds from South Ferriby are largely notable for their terrible condition, a fair reflection of the dreadful state of the silver coinage in the eighteenth century. The last silver coinage of George III has been included to demonstrate the continuity of coin loss across the period, and to give a context to the eighteenth-century material.

²¹ For the later role of Marian groats, see B.J. Cook, 'Recent Tudor hoards', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 79–80.

²² Cook, as in n. 21, p. 80; for the weights in some of these hoards, see Edward Besly, *English Civil War Coin Hoards*,

British Museum Occasional Paper no. 51 (1987), pp. 14, 21, 40, 48.

²³ Besly, as in n. 22, pp. 33–40.

Conclusion

The purpose of this report has been to place on record the coin finds made on what was a fairly minor, if economically active, English site in the medieval and early modern period. The evidence for South Ferriby suggests that the onset of significant coin use began there in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, perhaps indicating an economic upsurge consequent on the site's role as a crossing point over the Humber and port for river-going traffic down the Alcholme to Lincoln. Though there is no evidence of a market, some degree of local activity to service this traffic can be surmised. Coin use remained thereafter significant on the site, though reflecting the general state of the currency and availability of *specie*.

The value of the site is mainly to provide raw material for ongoing developments in the study of currency use and function, and in particular the methodology of dealing with single finds. The various comments, comparisons and suggestions made above have been provided in the full knowledge of the dangers of attempting to learn general lessons from particular instances, but also in the hope that they might form a contribution to the increasing work of scholars in this area of the British currency.

CATALOGUE

f = fragment
b = heavily bent
c = clipped
d = bent double

ENGLAND

Early Medieval

Sceattas

- | | |
|--|------|
| 1. Series E, 'Porcupine'/Standard. Early eighth century, probably from Frisia. | 1.02 |
|--|------|

Edward the Confessor

- | | |
|---|------|
| 2. Cut halfpenny, Small Flan (Short Cross), 1048–50. Mint and moneyer uncertain | 0.48 |
|---|------|

William I

- | | |
|---|------|
| 3. Cut halfpenny, Type IV (Two Sceptres), 1072–1074?. Moneyer, Outhgrim, mint York
+OVDGR[] | 0.67 |
|---|------|

Henry I

- | | |
|---|------|
| 4. Penny, type IV (Annulets and Piles), c. 1105. Moneyer Arcil, mint Stamford
+ARCIL.ON.ST[] | 0.96 |
| 5. Cut halfpenny, type XV (Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury), 1125–c. 1135. Moneyer Rod[bent/d],
mint ? | |
| 6. Penny, type XV
+ROD[] | 0.52 |
| | 1.26 |

Stephen

- | | |
|---|------|
| 7. Cut farthing, Watford type, c. 1136–c. 1145. Mint and moneyer uncertain.
[]N:O[] (N reversed) | 0.33 |
|---|------|

Cross and Crosslets (Tealby) Coinage

8. Penny,	[]ON[]	1.13	
9. Cut halfpenny, Bust F (c. 1170–80)		0.62	
10. Cut halfpenny, details mostly illegible, moneyer probably Willem	[]LLE[]	0.41	d
11. Cut farthing, details illegible		0.29	

Short Cross Coinage

12. 1ab	London	Davi	REX +DAVLON.LVNDE	1.37	
13. 1b		Alain V	+ALAIN.V.ON.LVN	1.01	
14. 1	?	Ricard	+RICARD[]	0.63	
15. 1(b)	London	Aimer	+AIMER.O[]	0.6	
16. 1	?	[]bert	[]BERT.ON.[]	0.46	
17. 1?	London?	Pieres?	[]RES.O[]	0.25	
18. 3	Canterbury/Northampton	Roberd	+ROBERD[]	0.52	
19. 3	London	?	[]ON.LVN	0.51	c
20. 4a	Canterbury	Ulard	+VLARD.ON.CAN	0.95	
21. 4a	London	Aimer	+AIMER.ON.LVNDE	0.91	
22. 4b	Canterbury	Ulard	+VLARD.ON.C[]	1.28	
23. 4b	Canterbury	Goldwine	+GOL[]C	0.64	
24. 4(b?)	Canterbury	Meinir	MEINIR[]	0.53	b
25. 4b-c	London	Willelm	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	0.88	d
26. 4-	?	?	Illegible	0.84	f
27. 4?	?	?	double-struck	0.56	
28. 5bi	Durham	Pieres	+PIER[]VRE	0.74	
29. 5bi	Lynn	Iohan	+IOHAN.ON.LENE	1.37	b
30. 5bi	Northampton	Roberd T	+RO[]N.NO	0.6	
31. 5bi	Northampton	Roberd T	+ []ERD.T.O[]	0.58	b
32. 5bi	Northampton	Roberd	+ROBERD[]	0.69	
33. 5bi?	Bury St Edmunds	?	[]SAD[M]	0.3	
34. 5bii	London?	Ricard	+RICARD[]	0.64	
35. 5bii	London	Willelm	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	1.18	
36. 5bii	Northampton	Roberd T	[]BERD.T.O[]	0.68	
37. 5b	Canterbury	Goldwine	[]NE.ON.C	0.6	
38. 5b	York	Davi	[]VLON.EV[]	0.62	b
39. 5b	London	?	+ []ON.LVND	0.64	
40. 5bii-c	Northampton	Adam	+AD[]Rh	0.56	
41. 5b-c	London	Beneit	+BENEIT[]	0.54	
42. 5c	London	Abel	+ABEL.O[]	0.61	b
43. 5c	London	Beneit	+BENEIT[]	0.45	
44. 5c	London	Will-	+WIL[]N.LV	0.58	
45. 5c	London	Will-	+WIL[]N.LVI	0.46	b
46. 5c	London	Abel	+ABEL.O[]	0.55	
47. 5	?	Roberd	[]BERD[]	0.28	
48. 5?	?	Ricard	[]ARD[]	0.29	
49. 5?	Canterbury	?	[]CANTE	0.4	f
50. 5?	?	Willelm []	[]LLE[]	0.38	
51. 5-6	W-	?	[]ON.W[]	0.64	
52. 5-6	?	Raul/f	+RAV[]	0.53	f
53. 6a	London	Ilger	+ILGER.ON.LVND	1.31	
54. 6b2	London	Raulf	+RAVL.FON.LVND	1.3	
55. 6b	London	Raulf	+RA[]NDE	0.57	b
56. 6b	London	Raulf	[]VFON.LV[]	0.51	
57. 6b	London	Raulf	RAVL.FO[]	0.66	
58. 6b	London	Rauf	[]VFON.LVN[]	0.68	
59. 6b	London	Walter	[]TER.ON.[]	0.66	
60. 6c1	London	?	+ []N.LVND	0.52	
61. 6c	London	?	[]ON.LVNDE	0.68	

62.	6	Canterbury	Hiun	½	[ |VN.ON[ |	0.58	
63.	6?	London	Raulf	½	+RA[ |	0.36	
64.	6?	London	Raulf		+RAV[JND	0.95	f
65.	6?	?	Walter	½	+WALTER[ |	0.58	
66.	6?	?	?	½	+SA[ |	0.47	
67.	7a	Bury St Edmunds	Norman		+NORMANONSANT	1.31	
68.	7a	Durham	Pieres		+PIERESONDVR	1.35	
69.	7a	Canterbury	Tomas	½	[ |SONCA[ |	0.61	
70.	7a	London	?	½	[ |ONLVN	0.68	
71.	7a-b	London	Elis	½	[ |ISONLVN[ |	0.68	
72.	7a-b	Canterbury	Roger of R	½	[ |ER.O[ |	0.33	
73.	7b	Canterbury	Osmund		+OSMVNDONCAN	1.24	
74.	7b	Canterbury	Osmund	½	[ |VNDONC[ |	0.62	
75.	7b	Canterbury	Osmund	½	+OS[ |CAN	0.52	
76.	7b	Canterbury	Osmund	½	+OSM[ |AN	0.67	
77.	7b	Canterbury	Willem		[ |EMONCANT	1.33	
78.	7b	Canterbury	Willem Ta		+WILLEHT.AONC[ |	1.24	
79.	7b	Canterbury	Willem Ta	½	+WILLEMT[ |	0.57	c
80.	7b	Canterbury	Roger		+ROGERONCANT	1.26	b
81.	7b	London	Ricard		+RICARDONLVN	1.3	
82.	7b	London	Ricard		+RICARDONLVN	1.13	b
83.	7b	London	?	½	[ |NLVNDE	0.55	
84.	7c	London	Giffrei		+GIFFREIONLVN	1.38	b
85.	pre-7	?	?	½	[ |.ON[ |	0.3	
86.	7?	?	?	?	?	0.25	f
87.	?	London	?	½	+| JND	0.3	
88.	?	Canterbury	?	½	[ |CA[ |	0.31	c
89.	?	?	?	½	?	0.23	f
90.	?		Roger	½	+ROG[ |	0.91	
							(Corrosion)
91.	?	?	Will-	½	+WIL[ |	0.39	f
92.	?	?	?	½	?	0.5	
93.	?	?	?	½	?	0.57	
94.	?	?	?	?	?	0.33	f

Long Cross Coinage

(Ligatured letters indicated by underlining.)

95.	1b	London	-	½	[ |JVND	0.42	f
96.	2a	London	Nicole	½	NIC [ |JVND	0.59	
97.	2a	London	?	½	[ |ONL <u>VND</u>	0.61	
98.	2	London or Canterbury	?	½	NIC OLE [ |	0.6	
99.	3a	Canterbury	Gilbert	1½	GIL BER [ |	0.65	
100.	3a	London	Nicole		NIC OLE <u>ONL VND</u>	1.3	
101.	3a	Canterbury	?	½	[ | <u>QNC ANT</u>	0.58	
102.	3ab	Exeter	Ion?	½	[ |CCE TRE	0.65	
							Nearly cut through to make farthings
103.	3ab	London	Nicole	½	NIC [ | <u>VND</u>	0.59	
104.	3ab	Northampton	Tomas		<u>TOM</u> ASO <u>NNQ</u> Rha	1.34	
105.	3ab	Norwich	Willem		WIL LEM ONN ORW	1.28	
106.	3b	Bristol	Walter		<u>WAL</u> TE[ |RVS	1.02	f
107.	3b	London	Henri		<u>hEN</u> RIO <u>NLV NDE</u>	1.44	
108.	3b	Gloucester	?	½	[ |ONG LOV	0.66	
109.	3b	York	Tomas	½	[ |ASO NE[ |	0.61	
110.	3bc	Canterbury	Nicole		NIC OLE <u>QNC ANT</u>	1.27	
111.	3bc	?	Willem	½	[ | <u>LEM</u> ON[ |	0.56	
112.	3bc	London	?	½	[ | <u>NDE</u>	0.64	b
113.	3c	London	Nicole	½	NIC [ | <u>VND</u>	0.54	
114.	3c	London	Nicole	½	NIC [ | <u>VND</u>	0.81	
115.	3c	London	Nicole	½	NIC [ | <u>VND</u>	0.62	

116.	3c	W-	?	1/2	[] ONW []	0.44	
117.	3(c?)	London	?	1/2	[] NDE	0.34	
118.	3a-c	Gloucester	Ion	1/2	ION [] VCE	0.61	b
119.	3a-c	London	Henri	1/2	hEN [] ND	0.71	
120.	3	Bury St Edmunds	Ion?	1/2	[] EDM VND	0.55	
121.	3	Canterbury	Gilbert	1/2	GIL []	0.32	
122.	3	Lincoln	?	1/2	[] NL INC	0.35	f
123.	3	London	Nicole	1/2	[] OLE ONL []	0.7	
124.	3	London	Nicole	1/2	NIC [] VND	0.57	
125.	3	London	?	1/2	[] ONL VND	0.53	
126.	3	London	?	1/2	[] ONL VND	0.6	b
127.	3	London	?	1/2	[] ONL []	0.38	
128.	3	London?	?	1/2	[] DEN	0.33	
129.	3	London?	?	1/2	[] ONL VND	0.44	
130.	3	?	Nicole	1/2	[] IC OLE []	0.46	b
131.	3	?	Nicole	1/2	NIC OLE []	0.69	
132.	3	?	Ricard	1/2	RIC ARD []	0.66	
133.	3	?	?	1/2	?	0.61	
134.	1-4	?	?	1/2	[] ON []	0.36	c
135.	5a-b	?	Nicole	1/2	NIC OLE []	0.27	c
136.	5b	Canterbury	Ion	1/2	IOI [] TER	0.72	
137.	5b	Canterbury	Nicole	1/2	NIC OLE ONC ANT	1.23	
138.	5b	Canterbury	Robert	1/2	ROB ERT []	0.61	
139.	5b	?	?	1/2	?	1.47	d
140.	5b	?	?	1/2	?	1.27	d
141.	5b-c	Canterbury	Ion	1/2	ION [] TER	0.58	
142.	5b-c	London	Nicole	1/2	[] OLE ONL []	0.6	b
143.	5b-c	London	Nicole	1/2	NIC [] VND	0.44	c
144.	5b-c	London	Ricard	1/2	RIC [] VND	0.55	
145.	5b-c	London	Willem	1/2	[] LEM ONL []	0.55	
146.	5c	Canterbury	Robert	1/2	ROB ERT ONC ANT	1.46	
147.	5c	Canterbury	Robert	1/2	[] TON CAN	0.56	
148.	5c	Canterbury	Ion?	1/2	[] CAN TER	0.6	f
149.	5c	London	Willem	1/2	[] LEM ONL []	0.58	
150.	5a-c	Canterbury	Iohs?	1/2	[] SON CAN []	0.75	
151.	5a-c	Canterbury	?	1/2	[] ONC ANT	0.56	
152.	5a-c	?	Nicole	1/2	[] OLE ONI []	0.59	
153.	5g	Canterbury	?	1/2	[] CAN	0.39	
154.	5g	London	Renaud	1/2	REN AVD ONL VND	1.33	
155.	5g	London	Renaud	1/2	REN [] VND	0.8	
156.	5g	London	?	1/2	[] ONL VND	0.62	
157.	5g	London	?	1/2	[] ONL VND	0.37	c
158.	5h	London	?	1/2	[] ONL []	0.44	c
159.	5h-i	London	Davi?	1/2	[] LVN DEN	0.61	
160.	5	London	?	1/2	[] ONL V []	0.4	f
161.	5	London	?	1/2	[] VND	0.3	
162.	5	London	?	1/2	[] ONL []	0.34	
163.	5	?	Nicole	1/2	[] OLE []	0.33	
164.	5	?	?	1/2	?ELM []	0.25	c
165.	5?	?	?	1/2	[] ON []	0.17	f
166.	?	C-	?	1/2	[] ONC []	0.35	f
167.	?	?	Nicole	1/2	NIC OLE []	0.62	d
168.	?	?	?	1/2	?	0.63	c
169.	?	?	?	1/2	?	0.28	
170.	?	?	?	1/2	[] ON []	0.29	
171.	?	?	?	1/2	?	0.16	f
<i>Counterfeits</i>							
172.		'London'	'Nicole'	1/2	[] COL EON L []	0.45	
173.	'3'	?	?	1/2	?	1.16	

Edward I & II

Pennies

174.	1c	London	reversed N on obv	1.01
175.	1d	London	Ns reversed except in LON	1.29
176.	2b	London		0.9
177.	2	London		1.42
178.	2	London		1.17
179.	3a	London		0.9
180.	3c	Bristol		1.24
181.	3c	London		1.29
182.	3b-d	Bristol		1.35
183.	3e	York, episcopal		1.43
184.	3g	Lincoln		1.3
185.	3g	Lincoln		1.27
186.	3g	London		1.16
187.	3c-g	Bristol		1.23
188.	3	York, regal		1.31
189.	4a	Canterbury		1.02
190.	4a	London		1.27
191.	4a	London		0.8
192.	4b	London		1.19
193.	4b	London		0.95
194.	4b	London		1.13
195.	4b	London		1.28
196.	4b	London?		1.22
197.	4a-c	London		0.78
198.	4d	Canterbury		1.33
199.	4d	London		1.37
200.	4?	Canterbury		0.56
201.	4?	London		0.57
202.	9b ₁	Canterbury		1.07
203.	9b ₂	Canterbury		1.35
204.	9b ₂	Kingston upon Hull		1.39
205.	9b ₂	Kingston upon Hull		1.31
206.	9b ₂	London		1.25
207.	9b ₂	London		1.24
208.	9b	Durham		0.78
209.	10ab ₁ /9b	London		0.68
210.	10ab ₂	London		1.05
211.	10ab ₃	Durham		1.19
212.	10ab ₂₋₃	London		0.82
213.	10ab ₅	Canterbury		1.26
214.	10cf ₁	Bury St Edmunds		1.23
215.	10cf ₁	London		1.26
216.	10cf ₁	London		1.27
217.	10cf ₂	Bury St Edmunds		0.81
218.	10cf ₂	Canterbury		1.34
219.	10cf ₂	Canterbury		1.0
220.	10cf ₂	London		1.05
221.	10cf ₂	London		1.27
222.	10cf ₂	London		1.19
223.	10cf ₂	London		1.27
224.	10cf ₃	Canterbury		1.34
225.	10cf ₃	London		1.07
226.	10cf ₃	Durham		1.12
227.	10cf ₃	London		0.79
228.	10cf ₃	London	EDWARR	0.99
229.	10cf ₅	London		1.12
230.	10cf ₅	London		1.11
231.	10cf?	Canterbury		0.85

232.	10?	London		1.5	d
233.	11a ₂	Canterbury		1.21	b
234.	11a ₂	Durham		1.07	
235.	11a ₂	London		1.28	
236.	11a	London		0.9	b
237.	11b ₃	Canterbury		1.21	b
238.	13	Durham		1.35	
239.	14	Bury St Edmunds		1.12	
240.	14	London		1.3	
241.	14	London		1.31	
242.	15?	Canterbury		1.17	b,f
243.	3-4?	London		0.16	f
244.	?	Canterbury		0.34	f

Halfpennies

245.	3c-e	London		0.57	
246.	10-11	London	crown 1, trifoliate	0.37	f

Farthings

247.	3de	London		0.31	
248.	10	London		0.36	
249.	10	London		0.42	
250.	10	London		0.24	f
251.	10	London		0.27	
252.	10	London		0.35	
253.	10-11	London		0.31	
254.	?	London		0.3	

Edward III**Second, 'star-marked', coinage***Halfpennies*

255.	3	London	barred Ns	0.56	
256.	4a	London		0.55	
257.	4a	London		0.5	f
258.	4	London		0.6	
259.	4	London		0.42	f

Farthings

260.	1	London	AIT*, *LOII	0.34	
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Third, 'Florin', coinage*Pennies*

261.	Durham	4/I N.1125		0.73	c
262.	London	1/I N.1113		1.09	f
263.	London	2/I N.1114		0.98	c
264.	London	3/I N.1115		1.18	

Halfpennies

265.	London	N.1131		0.55	d
266.	London	N.1131		0.6	
267.	London	N.1132		0.58	

Fourth coinage*Pre-Treaty period*

268.	Series C	half-groat	London	1.98	f
269.		penny	London	0.76	f,b
270.		penny	London	1.16	
271.	Series D	penny	York, regal	0.87	c
272.		penny	York, regal	0.85	f
273.	Series E	penny	York (regal?)	0.96	d
274.	Series G	penny	York	1.02	
275.	Series Gd	penny	York	0.85	c
276.	Series G?	penny	York	1.08	

Treaty period

277.	penny	k.	London	0.96	c
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Post-Treaty period

278.	penny	Durham	N.1297	1.03	b
279.	penny	York	N.1293?	0.91	c
280.	penny	York		0.98	
281.	penny	York		0.9	c
282.	penny	York		0.94	f

Uncertain period

283.	penny	York, episcopal		0.6	c
284.	penny	York, episcopal		1.02	c
285.	penny	?		0.48	f

Edward III or Richard II

286.	penny	York		0.69	c,d
287.	penny	York		0.92	
288.	penny	York		0.82	f
289.	penny	London		0.54	f

Richard II

290.	halfpenny	early bust	N.1331(b)	London	0.53
291.	halfpenny	late bust	type III	London	0.56

Henry V

292.	penny	D	York	0.82	c
293.	penny	G	York	0.92	
294.	penny	?	York	0.44	c
295.	halfpenny	C?	London	0.34	f
296.	halfpenny	?	London	0.39	

Henry VI

297.	Rosette Mascle issue	halfpenny	London	0.49	
298.		halfpenny	Calais	0.5	
299.	Pinecone Mascle	halfpenny	Calais	0.37	
300.	Leaf Trefoil	halfpenny	London	0.25	f

301.	Trefoil	halfpenny	London	0.41	f
302.	Leaf Pellet	penny	London	0.74	c
303.		penny	York A	0.99	d
304.		halfpenny	London A	0.45	
305.		halfpenny	London A	0.43	f
306.	Cross Pellet?	penny	Durham	0.54	c

Edward IV

First reign, light coinage

307.	penny	crown	type VII	London	0.57	
308.	halfpenny	lis	type VIII	York	0.28	f

Second reign

309.	groat	pierced cross	type XVII	London	2.95	
310.	halfgroat	rose	N.1637	Canterbury	1.2	c
311.	penny	rose	type XVI	York G and key	0.57	f
312.	penny	im?	N.1651	York rose on breast	0.42	c
313.	penny	im?	York or Durham	B by bust	0.45	f
314.	penny	im?	Durham	D in centre of rev	0.66	f or c

Uncertain reign

315.	halfpenny	im?		London	0.31	
316.	penny	im?		York G and key	0.71	c

Henry VII

Facing Bust issue

317.	halfgroat	IIIb	tun	Canterbury	1.33	
318.	halfgroat	IIIb	tun	Canterbury	1.24	
319.	halfgroat	III	?	Canterbury	1.11	c
320.	halfgroat	III	?	Canterbury	1.04	c
321.	halfgroat	N.1716	martlet	York	1.37	
322.	penny	London im none	N.1726/1		0.47	f, pierced
323.	penny	York	N.1728		0.58	f

Portrait Bust issue

324.	halfgroat	N.1750 martlet		Canterbury	1.53	
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Henry VII or Henry VIII

325.	groat	details illegible			1.0	c,b
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Henry VIII

First Coinage

326.	halfgroat	York	N.1770	star	1.17	
327.	penny	Durham	N.1776	lis	0.73	
328.	penny	Durham	N.1777	?	0.52	c

Second coinage

329.	halfgroat	Canterbury	N.1802	?	0.87	f
330.	halfgroat	York	N.1807	key	1.26	
331.	halfgroat	York	N.1807	key	1.22	
332.	penny	York	N.1811	crescent	0.5	f
333.	penny	York	N.1811	trefoil	0.56	
334.	penny	York	N.1811	trefoil	0.62	
335.	penny	Durham	N.1813	star	0.52	f,b
336.	halfpenny	London	N.1815	portcullis	0.33	f
337.	halfpenny	London	N.1815	portcullis	0.22	f
338.	halfpenny	London	N.1815	?	0.36	

Third Coinage

339.	groat	York			1.55	f
340.	halfgroat	Canterbury			1.05	f
341.	penny	York	trefoil stops		0.38	

Edward VI*Coinage in name of Henry VIII*

342.	groat	Tower mint	martlet		1.92	f
343.	groat	Canterbury	?		1.97	f
344.	penny	Tower or Southwark	obv im. Illeg, rev. none		0.39	
345.	penny	York	pellet stops		0.55	
346.	penny	York	pellet stops		0.36	f

Edward VI or Mary

347.	base penny				0.24	f
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Mary*sole reign*

348.	groat	pomegranate			1.29	c
349.	groat	pomegranate			1.60	
350.	groat	pomegranate			1.63	

with Philip

351.	base penny				0.6	
352.	base penny				0.16	f

Elizabeth I

353.	shilling	hand			5.19	
354.	shilling	?			1.8	f
355.	sixpence	pheon	1561		2.79	b
356.	sixpence	pheon	1561		2.68	b
357.	sixpence	lion	1567		2.38	
358.	sixpence	coronet	156(9?)		2.83	
359.	sixpence	ermine	1572		2.1	c
360.	sixpence	ermine	1572		2.63	
361.	sixpence	plain cross	1579		2.68	b
362.	sixpence	escallop	1584		2.44	c
363.	groat	lis			1.42	f,b

364.	groat	cross crosslet		1.73	
365.	groat	martlet		2.0	
366.	groat	?		1.31	b
367.	threepence	lion	1567	1.35	
368.	threepence	ermine	1572	1.28	
369.	threepence	plain cross	1580	1.09	c
370.	threepence	plain cross?	?	0.78	f
371.	threepence	sword	158-	1.01	c
372.	threepence	?	?	1.03	d
373.	threepence	?		0.27	f
374.	halfgroat	cross crosslet		0.89	
375.	halfgroat	castle		0.91	
376.	halfgroat	early, im?		0.83	
377.	halfgroat	escallop		0.93	
378.	halfgroat	escallop		0.87	
379.	halfgroat	crescent		1.16	
380.	halfgroat	crescent		0.79	
381.	halfgroat	bell		0.76	
382.	halfgroat	bell		0.73	c
383.	halfgroat	hand		0.94	
384.	halfgroat	hand		0.85	
385.	halfgroat	woolpack		1.04	
386.	halfgroat	key		1.02	
387.	halfgroat	late, im?		0.88	
388.	halfgroat	late, im?		0.9	
389.	halfgroat	late, im?		0.62	f
390.	halfgroat	late, im?		0.62	f
391.	halfgroat	late, im?		0.75	
392.	halfgroat	late, im?		0.67	
393.	1½ d	eglantine	1575	0.58	
394.	penny	cross crosslet		0.35	
395.	penny	cross crosslet		0.42	
396.	penny	cross crosslet		0.51	
397.	penny	martlet		0.61	
398.	penny	martlet		0.46	
399.	penny	martlet		0.63	
400.	penny	plain cross		0.42	
401.	penny	long cross		0.52	
402.	penny	hand		0.44	f
403.	penny	tun		0.5	
404.	penny	im?		0.49	
405.	penny	im?		0.38	
406.	penny	im?		0.36	f
407.	penny	im?		0.37	c

James I

First coinage

408.	halfpenny	thistle		0.26	
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Second coinage

409.	halfgroat	im?		0.94	
410.	halfgroat	im?		0.22	f

Token coinage

411.	farthing	'Harrington', small size, tinned surface		0.25	
412.	farthing	Counterfeit 'Lennox'		0.38	

Charles I*Tower mint*

413.	halfcrown	triangle in circle	13.64	
414.	sixpence	tun	2.6	
415.	sixpence	?, late type	1.52	b
416.	halfgroat	castle	0.77	
417.	halfgroat	bell	0.73	
418.	halfgroat	(P)	0.57	f,b
419.	penny	Group D, N.2270, im?	0.52	

Token coinage

420.	farthing	Richmond round	0.55	
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Counterfeits

421.	shilling		1.16	f
422.	shilling	'York'	2.51	f

Commonwealth

423.	halfgroat		0.9	
424.	halfgroat		0.73	f

Private Tokens

425.	halfpenny	Edward Wood, Chesterfield, Derby	W.47	2.05
426.	farthing	Richard Stallard, Brigg, Lincs	W.47	0.94
427.	halfpenny	Lincoln City, 1669	W.138	2.41
428.	farthing	Goulden Lion, Hull, Yorks	W.154	0.82
429.	halfpenny	Ripon (RIPPON), mostly illeg.	W.-	1.39
430.	halfpenny	Eliz. Smith, York	W.435	1.57

Charles II*Hammered coinage*

431.	halfgroat		0.45	d
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Milled coinage

432.	threepence	1679	1.32	
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William III

433.	shilling?		5.39	
434.	sixpence	1690	2.78	
435.	sixpence	1696	2.92	
436.	sixpence	?	2.52	
437.	sixpence	?	2.58	
438.	sixpence	?	2.59	
439.	sixpence	?	2.17	
440.	sixpence	?	2.34	
441.	farthing	1700	4.77	

Late 17th–early 18th century

442.	shilling							3.22
443.	shilling with c/ms: JT and PC							3.77
444–53.	sixpence		1.68	2.14	1.83	2.04		1.9
			1.9	2.37	1.4	1.82		1.52
454.	halfgroat							0.53

George III

456.	shilling	1819						4.76
457.	shilling	1820						5.24
458.	shilling	1816–20						4.82
459.	sixpence	1819						2.03
460.	sixpence	1816–20						2.38
461.	penny	1795						0.46

IRELAND**Edward I**

462.	halfpenny	1b	Dublin					0.51
463.	penny	1c	Dublin					1.24
464–6.	penny	4a	Dublin		1.0	0.99		1.05

Edward IV*Sun and Roses/Rose on Cross coinage*

467.	penny	Dublin						0.37	c?
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James I*First coinage*

468.	shilling	bell						3.90
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Second coinage

469.	sixpence	im?						1.22
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AQUITAINE

469.	Edward III demi-sterling							0.34	f
470.	Henry IV–VI hardi d'argent	E.233						1.05	

EUROPEAN

471.	pfennig Conrad v.Hochstellen, archbishop of Cologne type I Havernick 653	0.88	c
472.	baudekin Margaret of Hainaut (1244–60)	1.74	
473.	sterling John I or II Brabant (1261–1312)	0.99	f
474.	sterling William Namur (1337–91)	0.79	b
475.	soldino Leonardo Loredano Venice (1500–21)	0.31	
476.	soldino Leonardo Loredano Venice	0.26	
477.	soldino Leonardo Loredano Venice	0.25	
478.	soldino Leonardo Loredano Venice	0.24	
479.	paolo Francis III of Lorraine, as duke of Tuscany, 1738 CNI.11	2.53	
480.	öre Carl XII of Sweden 170 –	0.89	

SCOTLAND**William I**

481.	Short Cross and Stars, Phase A	½		0.43	
482.	Short Cross and Stars, Phase B		Hue Walter	1.08	f
483.		½	Hue Walter	0.53	
484.		½	Hue Walter	0.59	
485.		½	Hue Walter	0.54	

Alexander III*First Coinage: Long Cross and Stars*

486.	type 5	½	rev.?		0.58
487.	?	½	Berwick	JNB ER|	0.62
488.	?	½	Edinburgh	|ON E|	0.62

Second coinage

489.	penny	C			1.14
490.	penny	G			1.41
491.	halfpenny	S.5061			0.65
492.	halfpenny	S.5061			0.58
493.	counterfeit penny				1.31

Robert II

494.	halfpenny	Edinburgh		0.36	f
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Robert III

495.	halfpenny	Edinburgh		0.43	
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James III

496.	'Crossraguel' penny			1.9	
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Charles I*Third coinage*

497.	40-pence			0.65	f
498.	20-pence	III	S.5588	0.72	
499.	20-pence	IV	S.5589	0.53	
500.	20-pence	IV	S.5589	0.63	

Charles II

501.	turner	1677-8		1.97	
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A CIVIL WAR HOARD FROM TREGWYNT, PEMBROKESHIRE

EDWARD BESLY

ON 17 September 1996 a quantity of silver coins of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was discovered by Roy Lewis, using a metal detector in the grounds of Tregwynt Mansion, Granston, Pembrokeshire (SM 8897 3463). His find resulted from a chance request by the owners, Michael and Ann Sayer, to check soil and subsoil removed from a sloping site a few metres to the north of the mansion during construction of a tennis court. A careful search of all redeposited soil during the succeeding fortnight yielded a final total of 33 gold and 467 silver coins, a gold ring (Appendix 1), several sherds of freshly-broken pottery and a squared sheet of lead measuring 15 x 16 cm (Appendix 2). The find was the subject of a coroner's inquest at Haverfordwest on 24 February and 12 June 1997, at which the coins and ring were declared Treasure Trove.¹ The entire find has been acquired by the National Museums & Galleries of Wales, with the support of the Heritage Lottery Fund, for public display.

The coins may be summarised as follows:

<i>Gold</i> England	Henry VIII	Crown (1)
	James I	Unites (4); Britain Crowns (2) Laurels (3); ½-Laurels (7); ¼-Laurels (2)
Scotland	Charles I	Twenty Shillings (10); Double Crowns (2); Crown (1)
	James VI	Sword & Sceptre piece (1)
<i>Silver</i> England	Edward VI	Shilling (1)
	Philip & Mary	Shillings (2); Sixpence (1)
	Elizabeth I	Shillings (44); Sixpences (107)
	James I	Shillings (33); Sixpences (16)
	Charles I	<i>Tower</i> Half Crowns (87); Shillings (143); Sixpences (17) <i>Shrewsbury</i> Half Crown (1) <i>Oxford</i> Half Crowns (3); Shilling (1) <i>Bristol</i> Half Crown (1) <i>'A'</i> Half Crown (1) <i>W, SA, etc.</i> Half Crowns (2); Shilling (1) <i>Exeter</i> Crown (1) <i>'Charles I'</i> Shilling (1)
Scotland	Counterfeit	Thirty Shillings (1); Six Shillings (1)
Ireland	James VI	Confederate Catholics? Half Crown (1)
	(Charles I)	Lords Justices Crown (1)
	Charles I	

Face value: £51-9s-0d

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to the following: Roy Lewis, Michael and Ann Sayer for their interest, enthusiasm and patience, and for sharing local knowledge and the results of their own researches; Jackie Chadwick for fig. 1; Tony Daly for figs. 2 and 3; Mark Redknap for his help with the ring and container; Christine Stevens, Museum of Welsh Life; Martin Collier, Norfolk Rural Life Museum. My transcription of Llewellyn Harrie's inventory is reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Wales. The hoard was acquired by

NMGW with the support of the Heritage Lottery Fund and the ring was purchased by the Friends of NMGW. The pottery fragments and lead sheet have been donated to NMGW by Michael and Ann Sayer.

¹ On the morning of 24 February, notice was received by the coroner of a private claim to ownership. The inquest was accordingly opened and adjourned to give time for evidence supporting the claim to be adduced.

The Tregwynt Treasure Trove is the finest Civil War hoard recorded to date from Wales and the first of fifteen such hoards from Wales (Appendix 3) to contain significant amounts of gold. Only one other Welsh find approaches it in value, the ill-recorded Conwy Mountain hoard of 1835 (*K11*),² which included four gold coins in a total of £43-17s-6d. Tregwynt is also the first Civil War hoard to be recorded from Pembrokeshire.³

Date of deposition and historical context

The latest coin in the Tregwynt hoard is a single Tower Mint shilling of Charles I with the privy-mark Sceptre – the last mark of his reign. The coin shows little, if any, sign of wear (**PI 11, 466**). The previous mark, Sun, was assayed at the trial of the Pyx on 15 February 1647 (1646 Old Style). In normal circumstances the privy-mark was changed annually, and most pyx trials during this reign took place between 27 April and 26 July, mainly in June or July, which would seem to suggest that each privy-mark related to production during the previous official year ending on 24 March.⁴ If the pyx trial took place one or more months after the privy-mark was changed, the Sceptre may have been current as early as December 1646; in principle it will have remained in use until the end of January 1649 (New Style). The Sceptre shilling in the Tregwynt hoard bears the third and stylistically latest of the three varieties of portrait bust used on shillings bearing this mark. However, it is not known when these were changed and any attempt to assess this based on relative survival is frustrated by the rarity of all Sceptre shillings. Allowing for these changes and for the time taken for the coin to reach west Wales, it is unlikely that the Tregwynt hoard can finally have been buried before mid-late 1647 and a later date is a strong possibility. The new coinage of the Commonwealth of England appears to have been introduced towards the end of 1649 (NS) following passage of a new Act on 17 July. Ignoring possible conscious exclusion of this last, the Tregwynt hoard is likely to have been deposited between late 1647 and early 1650.

The obvious historical context for the hoard is the so-called 'Second Civil War' of 1648, since one of the most significant of the loosely-coordinated royalist risings of that year began and ended in Pembrokeshire. In February, Parliament attempted to replace Colonel John Poyer as governor of Pembroke Castle; by the middle of March Poyer was in open revolt. The parliamentarians were driven out of Pembrokeshire and the royalist army was only finally halted on 8 May, at St Fagans, a few miles west of Cardiff. Suppressing the revolt brought Oliver Cromwell to west Wales in person to besiege Pembroke Castle, which held out until 11 July.⁵

The association of hoarding with specific events is always a matter to be approached with caution, but more general links may sometimes be noted. The nine recorded hoards which close with the Tower privy-mark Sceptre (Appendix 4) include finds from Kent, Surrey, Suffolk, Lancashire and Pembrokeshire – areas which both saw action in 1648 and which have produced few if any hoards relating to the larger war of 1642–6. These hoards also include the two largest recorded deposits of silver coins, East Worlington, Devon (*J2*) and Middleham, North Yorkshire;⁶ and now the most valuable Civil War period hoard from Wales.

² *K11*: Such references here and throughout are to the inventory published by E. Besly, *English Civil War Coin Hoards*, BM Occasional Paper 51 (1987), pp. 76–115; hereafter, *ECWH*.

³ There has long been a local legend of treasure buried at Tregwynt, associated with the French landing nearby at Carregwastad Point, near Fishguard, in February 1797. In the light of events, it is possible that this incorporated and superseded a valid tradition dating from 150 years previously. For more such legends, see C.R. Beard, *The Romance of Treasure Trove* (1933); chapter XV at pp. 251–65 covers the

Civil War and its aftermath.

⁴ The Trial of the Pyx today takes place in two sessions: that for the 1997 coinage opened on 12 February 1998 (K. Clancy, pers. comm.).

⁵ The standard work is A.L. Leach, *History of the Civil War 1642–1649 in Pembrokeshire and its Borders* (1936). Recent accounts include P. Gaunt, *A Nation under Siege: the Civil War in Wales 1642–49* (1991) and T. Beardworth, *The Sieges of Pembroke and Tenby 1648* (Bristol, Stuart Press, 1998).

⁶ C. Barclay, 'A Civil War hoard from Middleham, North Yorkshire', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 84–98.

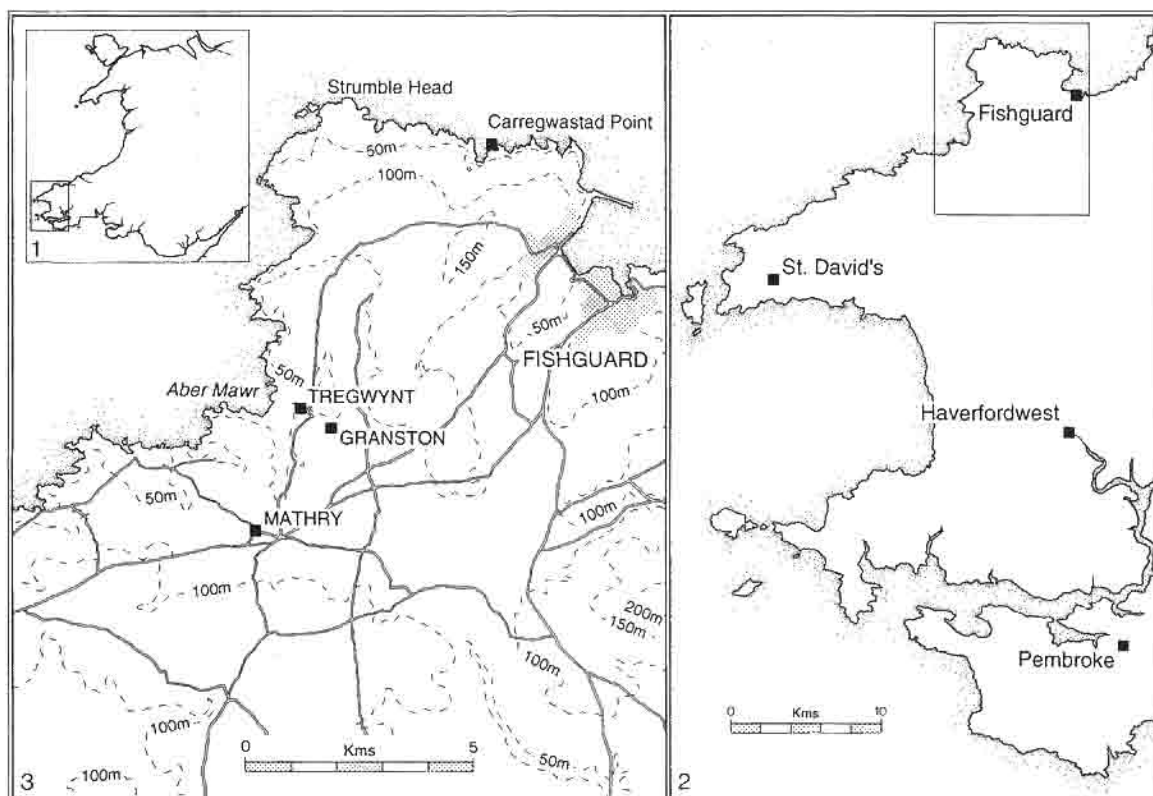


Fig. 1 Tregwynt, Pembrokeshire: location plan
 Drawn by Jackie Chadwick

Tregwynt lies in the north of the county, close to the coast at Aber Mawr, and about seven kilometres west of Fishguard (Fig. 1). The occupiers of Tregwynt at the time were the Harrie or Harries family, in the person of Llewellyn Harrie, a substantial farmer, fairly advanced in age. He had at least twelve children: the names of six sons and six daughters are known.⁷ Evidence given at the inquest indicated the likelihood of former outbuildings at the probable site of the hoard's concealment, a few metres to the north of the house. The proximity of the hoard to the house suggests that one of the family was probably involved in its burial, but it would be mere speculation to say more than that. The ring (below, pp. 131–2) is not helpful in this matter.

The loyalties of the various members of the family are not known, and there is an almost complete lack of contemporary documentary sources for the area. Three men named Harries are known to have fought for the king at St Fagans, but none can be linked to Tregwynt and the name is a common one.⁸ Whilst the burial of the hoard, or failure to recover it, seem to relate to the revolt of 1648, it is also possible that it was hidden a little later to escape the post-war 'composition' by which active royalists made their peace with the Parliament (for those

⁷ E. Jones, 'Harries of Tregwynt', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, sessions 1943 and 1944 (1946), 108–119. *Ibid.*, *Historic Houses of Pembrokeshire and their Families* (1996), pp. 209–10.

⁸ A. Sayer, pers. comm.

who participated in the 1648 rising, this might involve a fine of one-third of their personal estate). There is, however, no evidence that Llewellyn Harrie was fined, and he seems to have died, early in 1663, a reasonably prosperous man (for his probate inventory see Appendix 5). There does appear to have been a determined attempt by the new régime, during the early 1650s, to recover unpaid taxes (even from before the war), fines and sums of money thought to have been raised originally towards the royalist cause.⁹ The Tregwynt hoard could perhaps form one such sum, and therefore might represent something beyond the accumulated wealth of a single family.

The gold coins

The thirty-three gold coins (£24 0s 0d) comprise 46.6 per cent of the value of the hoard. They form the biggest find of gold from a Civil War context since the 1961 Newark (Balderton Gate) hoard (B2), and perhaps the largest reliably recorded from a mixed gold and silver coin hoard of the time. The only close parallel appears to be the 1985 Breckenbrough (North Yorkshire) hoard (E2), which contained thirty gold coins (£22 11s 0d; latest, 1639–40) in a deposit of £93 5s 0d buried early in 1644: another hoard associated with a substantial farm.

The latest gold coin is of 1633–4, and whilst the gold of James I's second coinage all shows signs of wear, coins of the third coinage and of Charles I are for the most part in fresh condition and have seen little circulation: the larger values have average weights comparable with, or better than those in other hoards.¹⁰ A good deal of the gold coinage may therefore have been hoarded previously, though some of the smaller gold coins (e.g., nos 30, 32) are heavily used and were probably removed from currency close to the time of the hoard's final deposition: their weights are, typically, a little lower as a percentage of the issue standard. The lower output of Tower gold from about 1633 is perhaps only part of the reason for the lack of later gold coins at Tregwynt. This presumably relates to questions of distribution and availability in this remote area – and perhaps to the hoarding habits of farmers.

None of the gold coins is in itself of numismatic interest, though there are several fine specimens. The Sharrington crown of Henry VIII may be noted as an unusual survivor, over a century old when buried and of a lower (20 carats, or 833/1000) standard than the others, which are all 'crown' gold, or 917/1000. The Scottish Sword & Sceptre piece was legal tender in England and Wales from April 1603 at ten shillings (eleven shillings from 1612) and examples have been found in the Botley (A1), Horncastle (A3), Cambridge (Pembroke College) (C4)¹¹ and St Annes (E16) hoards, as well as an isolated specimen from Scratby, near Yarmouth.¹² This appears to be the first recorded from Wales.

Tower Mint silver

As usual, Tower Mint silver provides the bulk of the hoard, comprising shillings and sixpences and (of Charles I) half crowns. There is one example of Mestrelle's issue, a sixpence (no. 188) and a specimen of the Briot 'hammered' issue of 1638–39 (no. 467). Two coins of Charles I have 'Welsh' feathers, a half crown and a shilling, both with p.m. Crown (nos 252 and 353). Three die-cutting legend errors have been noted: CVLTORS on a double crown of Charles I (no.

⁹ M. Bennett, *The Civil Wars in Britain & Ireland 1638–1651* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 350–1 quotes examples from Carmarthenshire and from Haverfordwest.

¹⁰ *ECWCH*, p. 67.

¹¹ Information from Martin Allen, December 1998, corrects *ECWCH*, pp. 62 and 79 where this coin is described as a half-Sword & Sceptre piece.

¹² Scratby: *SCMB*, December 1955, p. 501.

31; previously known); ELIABETH on sixpences of Elizabeth I (1569: one die, two specimens, nos 102–3) and AVSPIE on the reverse of no. 353.

The general composition of the Tower silver is comparable with those of other hoards buried in the late 1640s (Table 1).

TABLE 1. Silver coins: percentage compositions of deposits ending with p.m. Sceptre¹³

	<i>Tower % Pre-1560</i>	<i>Eliz. I</i>	<i>James I</i>	<i>Charles I</i>	<i>Royalist</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Tower total %</i>
<i>Tregwynt</i>	0.6	17.7	7.5	67.2	4.9	2.1	93.0
<i>Middleham, pot 3</i>	0.6	17.9	7.1	61.8	0.1	12.5	87.4
<i>Six others</i>	1.1	26.6	8.9	60.2	2.0	1.3	96.8

The number of well-recorded ‘Sceptre’ hoards is relatively small and within the group there are considerable variations in composition. Coins of Charles I form eighty-nine per cent of the value of the Guildford hoard (*J3*), a carefully-selected deposit containing only half crowns and shillings, but only forty per cent of the small Hadleigh hoard (*J4*), for instance. At Tregwynt and at Middleham, the coins of Elizabeth and James remain closer to the depressed levels typical of hoards of 1644–5, than to those of later deposits which may have included money hoarded during 1642–6 but returned in part to circulation after the fighting stopped. The explanation at Tregwynt may be that the silver element was taken from circulation not long before its burial, and comprised money which had come into the area during the mid-1640s (thus already distorted by general hoarding), only slightly supplemented by coins returned to the local currency pool after 1646.

Allowing for some loss through corrosion the average weights of the Tregwynt coins (p. 131) lie within the ranges recorded for other contemporary hoards. Likewise, the degree of clipping is reasonably typical. Most of Elizabeth’s coins, about one quarter of James I’s, and ten shillings (7.0%) and three half crowns (3.4%) of Charles I are significantly clipped. There is no indication that the Tregwynt silver coins were specially selected. Wear on the coins of Charles I, notably on some half crowns of 1641–3, reinforces the impression of a sum of money taken from circulation in the later 1640s. This included perhaps a few worn smaller-denomination gold coins (often the case with larger Civil War hoards). To this there appears to have been added a significant sum of gold, previously removed from circulation though not necessarily on a single occasion.

Because the hoard was thoroughly disturbed before its finding, there is no evidence as to any segregation within it. However, many silver coins of all periods and several gold coins bore traces, some substantial, of copper salts, derived perhaps from the sole counterfeit (no. 496) or a now-vanished object of copper alloy. It appears that the whole formed a single deposit.

Civil War coinage 1: royalist issues

The Tregwynt hoard contains eleven coins from the emergency royalist mints and a further two relating to the contemporary events in Ireland. The royalist issues cover a remarkable range, with seven mints represented. The closest parallel is the 1982 Priorslee (Telford) hoard (*H11*), which contained twenty-seven half crowns, also from seven mints. This hoard was also deposited in 1646 or later, though the latest Tower privy-mark was Sun (1645–6). The third

¹³ The six other hoards are those summarised in *ECWCH*, 1640s, see *ECWCH*, Table I and discussion, pp. 55–7, p. 117, Table VI, Group J. For the broader picture during the

significant western group of royalist coins from a single hoard is the 'South Midlands' deposit (G2): twenty-nine half crowns, from six mints, probably buried in 1645. Issues from Shrewsbury, Oxford, Bristol and W (Worcester) are common to all three hoards. Tregwynt and Priorslee also share the 'SA' and related issues of Sir Thomas Cary and each has a single 'Late Declaration' half crown marked 'A'. The seventh mint in Tregwynt is Exeter, a crown dated 1644 – an unusual denomination in hoards, though Sir Richard Vyvyan's mints appear to have produced a substantial quantity of crowns (single examples were also present in the East Worlington and Taunton hoards (J2, E19)).

The 'Exurgat' issues are all from known dies, though the 1644 Oxford half crown (no. 487) may represent an unrecorded combination. The 'A' mint half crown is discussed below. In the 'Cary' series, the presence of a half crown signed 'SA' is worthy of remark, since this seems to be only the fourth recorded specimen. Of the four, two have provenances, both of them from Pembrokeshire: Tregwynt and a die-duplicate specimen almost certainly found in the Haverfordwest area.¹⁴ On its own, this is insufficient to consider reattributing this issue: the late George Boon's suggestion of *Salopia* (Shrewsbury), as one of Sir Thomas Cary's mints authorised in May 1644, remains the most likely explanation.¹⁵ If this is accepted, it perhaps throws a little light on the processes by which such coinages reached their places of deposition. In the present case, the repeated raids by Sir Charles Gerard from the Marches deep into Wales and Pembrokeshire in April and May 1645 may well explain why 'SA' half crowns are, to date, found only in Pembrokeshire.

Civil War coinage 2: the 'A' mint

The Tregwynt hoard contains one royalist issue of the highest rarity: a half crown of 'Late Declaration' type, signed 'A' beneath the obverse horseman and dated '1646'. Coins of this series are in themselves very rare, and seldom provenanced,¹⁶ but this is the first 'A' coin to be recorded with a date other than 1645.

The 'Late Declaration' series comprises half crowns and smaller denominations struck from dies of Bristol type, including both unaltered and altered Bristol dies, struck at unknown locations after the fall of Bristol in September 1645. They bear as privy- or mint-marks the letters A or B or a small plume of 'Welsh' feathers. Hitherto, all known 'A' coins were dated 1645, and all 'B' and 'feathers' coins 1646. Morrieson recorded three half crown reverse dies marked A and dated 1645, the first altered from a Bristol die.¹⁷ The single obverse die, marked A below the horseman, was used into 1646 (Old Style) with a reverse marked B, and there were five other 1646 reverses, four with a small plume, the other with no specific privy-mark. All five were used with this obverse die, by now reworked and with a small plume in place of the letter A below the horse. One 1646 reverse (Morrieson's 1646, no. 5, with no privy-mark) now proves to have been used in a fresh state with the unaltered A obverse, and should therefore be regarded as the earliest of the five. It was later used again with the altered obverse die.

The most recent discussion of this topic has suggested Ashby-de-la-Zouch (Leics.) and Bridgnorth (Shropshire) for the locations of the A and B mints (if, indeed, these letters do represent places).¹⁸ This new coin raises again the question of attribution of these 'late

¹⁴ SCBI 33 (Brooker), no. 1158; now in National Museums & Galleries of Wales.

¹⁵ G.C. Boon, *Cardiganshire Silver and the Aberystwyth Mint in Peace and War* (Cardiff, 1981), p. 103.

¹⁶ In addition to the Tregwynt and Priorslee hoards, an 'A' shilling was found at Clywedog, near Dolgellau,

Merionethshire: now in NMGW collection (Boon, *Cardiganshire Silver*..., p. 125).

¹⁷ H.W. Morrieson, 'The coinage of Lundy, 1645–6', *BNJ* 19 (1927–28), 131–43; *ibid.*, 'Addenda to the coinages of Thomas Bushell', *BNJ* 20 (1929–30), 159–62.

¹⁸ Boon, *Cardiganshire Silver*..., pp. 122–30.

declaration' issues, for this coin cannot have been struck at Ashby, which surrendered on 28 February 1645 (OS). It could, however, be interpreted as a mule using the unaltered 'A' obverse die at whatever minting place was next adopted. The Ashby – Bridgnorth hypothesis would in this case remain feasible for 1645 A and 1646 B coins respectively. However, the particular 1646 reverse used here bears, in effect, no privy-mark and this appears to be the case for many of the dies of most denominations in the series. It may be that after A and B (whatever their meaning) the use of no mark at all or of a small plume of feathers simply reflected reality, a mint with no fixed abode.

Civil War coinage 3: Irish issues

The Tregwynt hoard contains two Irish coins from the period of the 'Great Rebellion', both of them extremely rare as finds from a Civil War context on the British mainland. The more spectacular is a crown of the Lords Justices' issue proclaimed in Dublin on 8 July 1643, better known as 'Ormonde Money'. These coins, with simple designs comprising a crowned 'CR' and their individual values, were struck to the same standards as contemporary Tower Mint products, and on 13 October 1643 the issue was declared legal tender in England and Wales, no doubt with an eye to its use by the forces freed by the truce of 15 September to leave for England to fight for the King.¹⁹ Despite this official status, there appears to be no previous record of 'Ormonde Money' being found in a 'mainland' hoard in a Civil War context, though another crown of the issue was included in the Congleton, Cheshire, hoard found in 1992; this had been buried in the mid-1670s, but the Irish crown could well have been brought over thirty years earlier.²⁰

The second Irish coin is a 'blacksmiths' half crown, an issue over which there still seems to be some uncertainty. The coins of this description copy English half crowns of the early 1630s. They appear to be of reasonable metal,²¹ though generally somewhat light in weight and struck from crude, hand-cut dies; and are hard to classify, since these dies were regularly retouched and the quality of striking is almost uniformly poor. They are conventionally attributed either to the Confederate Catholics at Kilkenny in 1642, who are known to have produced coinage, or to an issue by royalists in 1649, also at Kilkenny.²² The coin was much encrusted when found, and it is hard to say whether its present slightly soft appearance results from wear, poor striking or the cleaning process. If, however, the Tregwynt hoard was deposited in 1648 (or even well into 1649) the 'blacksmith' issue cannot be the royalist coinage of 1649, for Ormonde's Kilkenny warrant authorising coinage was dated 8 August 1649. Attribution of the 'blacksmiths' half crown to this coinage is now only tenable if the hoard was buried at the very end of that year, or later. Most probably, the 1649 attribution should now be dropped. The identification of the 'blacksmiths' half crowns with an issue by the Confederate Catholics in 1642 has been greatly strengthened by the evidence of the Tregwynt hoard.

Chester was the main point of entry to England and Wales of the 'Irish' troops. It is likely that both of these Irish coins reached Tregwynt *via* Chester and the Welsh Marches, rather than directly across the blockaded southern Irish Sea.

¹⁹ F.W. Yeates, 'The coinage of Ireland during the Rebellion, 1641–1652', *BNJ* 15 (1919–20), 185–223, at pp. 203–206; 'Further notes on the Irish coinage, 1641–1652', *BNJ* 16 (1921–22), 189–93.

²⁰ Congleton: unpublished; information from B. J. Cook.

²¹ E. Besly and M.R. Cowell, 'The metrology of the

English Civil War coinages of Charles I', *BNJ* 61 (1991), 57–75, at p. 64 no. 96: 90.7% silver.

²² P. Nelson, 'The obsidional money of the Great Rebellion, 1642–1649', *BNJ* 2 (1905), 291–357, at pp. 331–3 suggested the Confederate Catholics in 1642; Yeates (*BNJ* 15) pp. 215–17 favoured the royalists in 1649.

CIVIL WAR HOARD FROM TREGWYNT
SCHEDULE OF THE TREGWYNT HOARD²³

A bold number indicates that the coin is illustrated.

GOLD COINS

ENGLAND (32)

Henry VIII

Third coinage, 1544–47

1	Crown of the Double Rose		Bristol, N.1836		2.80g	1
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James I

Second coinage, 1604–19

2	Unites	2/4 ²⁴	N.2084	Key	9.98g	1
3				Tower	9.87g	1
4				Trefoil	9.88g	1
5		2/5		Tun	9.75g	1
6	Britain Crowns	2/1	N.2090	Lys	2.43g	1
7		2/3	N.2091	Tower	2.50g	1

Third coinage, 1619–25

8	Laurels	3/2	N.2112	Spur rowel	9.01g	1
9–10		3/3	N.2113	Thistle	9.02g, 9.01g	2
11	½-Laurels	3/1	N.2116	Spur rowel	4.51g	1
12–13		3/4	N.2117	Thistle	4.49g, 4.47g	2
14				Lys	4.56g	1
15–17				Trefoil	4.53g, 4.49g, 4.40g	3
18–19	¼-Laurels	3/2	N.2118	Lys	2.22g, 2.20g	2

Charles I

20	Twenty Shillings	A/IIa ²⁵	N. 2147	Lys	9.03g	1
21		B/I	N. 2148	Cross	9.15g	1
22–3		B/bust 2a	N. 2148	Castle	9.02g, 9.00g	2
24				Anchor (/Castle)	9.03g	1
25–6		B/bust 2b	N. 2149	Feathers	9.08g, 9.03g	2
27		C/bust 3b	N. 2151	Feathers	8.95g	1
28		C/bust 3a	N.2150	Rose (/Feathers, rev.)	8.99g	1
29		D/bust 5	N.2153	Portcullis	9.08g	1
30	Ten Shillings	A/bust 1a	N.2159	Lys	4.35g	1
31		B/bust 2a	N.2161	Castle	4.44g	1
32	Five Shillings	D/bust 5	N. 2185	Harp	2.24g	1

SCOTLAND (1)

James VI

Eighth coinage, 1601–4

33	Sword & Sceptre Piece (£6 Scots), 1602		S.5460		4.97g	1
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²³ References: N. = J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage* Volume 2, 3rd Edition (1991); S. = P. Seaby and P.F. Purvey, *Standard Catalogue of British Coins, Volume 2: Coins of Scotland, Ireland & the Islands* (1984).

²⁴ Coins of James I are listed according to coinage and obverse bust variety; so here 2/4 = 2nd coinage/4th bust. See North, *English Hammered Coinage* (note 23), pp. 142ff.

²⁵ Gold of Charles I is listed following SCBI 33 and North.

SILVER COINS

ENGLAND (463)

Edward VI (1)

34	Shilling	Fine coinage	N.1937	Tun	1
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Philip and Mary (3)

35-6	Shillings	English titles 1555	N.1968		2
37	Sixpence	Full titles 1554	N.1970		1

Elizabeth I (151)

Shillings, First issue, N.1985 (14)

38-51		Lys (1); Crosslets (8); Martlet (5)			14
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Shillings, Third issue, N.2014 (30)

52-81		Bell (1); A (4); Scallop (1); Crescent (1); Hand (4); Tun (7); Woolpack (4); Key (2); One (2); Two (3); Uncertain (Two?) (1)			30
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Sixpences, Second Issue, N.1997 (81)

82-92	Pheon	1561 (5); 1562; 1564 (2); 1565; 156? (2)			11
93-4	Portcullis	1566 (2)			2
97	Lion	1567			1
98-111	Coronet	1567; 1568; 1569 (9); 156?; 1570 (2)			14
112-15	Castle	1571 (3); 157?			4
116-24	Ermine	1572 (5); 1573 (4)			9
125-7	Acorn	1574 (3)			3
128-40	Eglantine	1573; 1574 (3); 1575 (7); 1576; 1577/6			13
141-8	Plain Cross	1578/7; 1578 (5); 1579 (2)			8
149-59	Long Cross	1580 (7); 1581 (4)			11
160-1	Sword	1582 (2)			2
162	Uncertain (?coronet, ?1567)				1

Sixpences, Third Issue, N.2015 (25)

163	Bell	1583			1
164-6	A	1583; 1584 (2)			3
167-9	Scallop	1584; 1585 (2)			3
170-1	Crescent	1587 (2)			2
172-4	Hand	1590; 1591; 159?			3
175-9	Tun	1592 (2); 1593 (3)			5
180-1	Woolpack	1594 (2)			2
182-4	Key	1596 (2); 159?			3
185-6	One	1602 (2)			2
187	Two	1602			1

Mill sixpence (1)

188	Star	1562	N.2025/2; BB 23 O6-R5 ²⁶	2.75g	1
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²⁶ D.G. Borden and I.D. Brown, 'The milled coinage of Elizabeth I', *BNJ* 53 (1983), 108-32.

James I (49)*Shillings (33)*

189	1/1	N.2072	Thistle	1
190-4	1/2	N.2073	Thistle	5
195-200	2/3	N.2099	Lys; Rose (5)	6
201-16	2/4	N.2100	Rose (9); Scallop (3) Grapes (3); Coronet	16
217-19	2/5	N.2101	Coronet; Key (/Coronet, rev.); Bell	3
220-1	3/6	N.2124	Rose; Trefoil	2

Sixpences (16)

222-3	1/1	N.2074	Thistle 1603 (2)	2
224-6	1/2	N.2075	Thistle 1603 (3)	3
227-32	2/3	N.2102	Lys 1604 (3); 1605; Rose 1605 (2)	6
233-7	2/4	N.2103	Rose 1606 (2); Scallop 1606; Coronet 1608; Key 1609	5

Charles I, Tower Mint (247)*Half Crowns (87)*

238-40	Group II	N.2205	Feathers	3
241-5		N.2207	Harp; Portcullis (4)	5
246-51	Group III	N.2209	Bell (5); Crown	6
252		N.2210	Crown	1
253-7		N.2209	Tun	5
258-9		N.2211	Anchor; Triangle	2
260-3		N.2212	Triangle	4
264		N.2211	Star (/Triangle, obv.)	1
265		N.2212	Star (/Triangle, obv.)	1
266-90	Group IV	N.2214	Star (4); Triangle-in-circle (21)	25
291-321	(Group III)	N.2213	(P) (10); (R) (9); Eye (4) Sun (7); uncertain	31
322-4	Group V	N.2215	Sun	3

Shillings (143)

325	N.2218	Cross calvary	B1/1 ²⁷	1
326-8	N.2221	Feathers	C1/1; C2/1 (2)	3
329-31	N.2223	Harp	D1/1; D2/1; D3/1	3
332-4	N.2223	Portcullis	D4/1	3
335-8	N.2225	Bell	E1/1	5
339-52		Crown	E2/2	13
353	N.2226	Crown	E2/3	1
354	N.2225	Tun	E1/2	1
355-71	N.2225	Tun	E2/2	17
372	N.2227	Tun	F2/1	1
373-4	N.2229	Tun	F3/1	2
375-8	N.2229	Anchor	F3/1 u/u (2); u/l, u/r,	4
379-80	N.2230/1	Triangle	F3/2; F5/2	2
381-6	N.2231	Triangle	G1/2	6
387-401		Star	G1/2	15
402-34		Triangle-in-circle	G1/2	33
435-40		(P)	G1/2	6
441-8		(R)	G1/2	8

²⁷ B1/1, etc.: M. B. Sharp, 'The Tower shillings of Charles I...', *BNJ* 47 (1977), 102-13.

449-51		(P) or (R)	G1/2	2
		uncertain	G1/2	1
452-5	N.2232	Eye	G2/2	4
456-62		Sun	G2/2	7
463-5	N.2233	Sun	H1/1	3
466	N.2234	Sceptre	H3/2	1

Briot's hammered coinage

467	N.2231/2308	Triangle/ ~ over Anchor; G1/Briot 5.83g	1
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Sixpences (17)

468	N.2238	Feathers	1
469-70	N.2240	Portcullis	2
471-5	N.2241	Bell; Tun (4)	5
476	N.2242	Tun	1
477	N.2243	Tun	1
478-82	N.2246	Triangle (2); Star (3)	5
483	N.2247	(R)	1
484	N.2246(?)	Sun (/Eye, rev.)	1

Charles I, Royalist Issues (11)*Shrewsbury*

485	Half Crown	1642	N.2376; Morr C3 ²⁸	15.02g	1
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Oxford

486	Half Crowns	1643	N.2413; Morr. D3 ²⁹	14.77g	1
487		1644	N.2433; Morr obv. 1643, K/ rev. 1644, II	15.25g	1
488		1646	N.2432; Morr. A1	14.97g	1
489	Shilling	1642	N.2439; Morr. B3?	6.24g	1

Bristol

490	Half Crown	1643	N.2488; Morr. C10 ³⁰	14.95g	1
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A (Late Declaration series)

491	Half Crown	1646	N. -; Morr. 'A5' ³¹ [not previously recorded]	14.41g	1
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Sir Thomas Cary's mints

492	Half Crowns	W	N.2590; Allen B12 ³²	14.16g	1
493		:SA:	N.2600; Allen G41	14.52g	1
494	Shilling		N.2619; Allen D14	5.93g	1

²⁸ H.W. Morrieson, 'The coins of the Shrewsbury Mint, 1642', *BNJ* 12 (1916), 195-211.

²⁹ H.W. Morrieson, 'The coinage of Oxford, 1642-46', *BNJ* 16 (1921-22), 129-88.

³⁰ H.W. Morrieson, 'The coinage of Bristol, 1643-1645',

BNJ 18 (1925-26), 135-57.

³¹ Morrieson, 'Lundy, 1645-6', etc., note 17.

³² D.F. Allen, 'The "Weymouth" and "Salisbury" mints of Charles I', *BNJ* 23 (1938-41), 97-118.

495	Crown	1644	N.2557; Besly C12 ³³	28.30g	1
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Counterfeit (1)

496	Shilling		'Group B', cf. N.2220	2.57g	1
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SCOTLAND (2)**James VI, Post-Union**

497	Thirty Shillings	S.5504	Thistle	14.82g	1
498	Six Shillings	S.5507	Thistle 1606	2.85g	1

IRELAND (2)**Confederate Catholics?**

499	Half Crown	S.6557A, 'Blacksmith'		13.00g	1
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Lords Justices ('Ormonde Money')

500	Crown	S.6544		29.13g	1
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GOLD RING

501 A gold 'posy' ring: plain band, diameter 21mm, weight 8.664g; inside the band, an engraved inscription: *Rather death then falce of fayth*. Uncertain maker's mark EH ligatured

Notes on individual coins

- 1. SPINE; Lockett 4344, same dies
- 13. *Rev.* privy-mark after IACOBVS
- 24. Graffito on obv.
- 29. Only two lys in French/English arms, first quarter
- 30. has been folded
- 31. *Rev.* CVLTORS; same dies as *SCBI* 33, no. 145
- 35. has been folded.
- 58. Crescent over Scallop, *obv.*
- 102–3. *Obv.* ELIABETH; two coins, same die.
- 162. A over Bell, *rev.*
- 173. has been folded.
- 218. Key over Coronet, *rev.*
- 259. textile traces in obv. corrosion pattern?
- 264–5. Star over Triangle, *obv.*
- 317. Sun over Eye, *obv.*
- 325. Same *obv.* die as *SCBI* 33, no. 403?
- 328. no pellets on *rev.*
- 353. *Rev.* AVSPIE.
- 379. *Obv.* Triangle over Anchor?
- 460. Sun over Eye, *obv.*
- 484. Sun over Eye, *rev.*
- 486. Same *obv.* die as *SCBI* 33, 888–90.

³³ E. Besly, 'The English Civil War mints at Truro and Exeter, 1642–1646', *BNJ* 62 (1992), 102–53.

487.	<i>Obv./rev. dies as SCBI 33, 902/904.</i>
488.	<i>Same dies as SCBI 33, 918.</i>
489.	<i>Same obv. die as SCBI 33, 925.</i>
490.	<i>Same dies as SCBI 33, 974.</i>

Weights Summary

The figures follow the format developed for *ECWCH*: for each denomination, three figures give the average weight in grammes, the number of specimens (in brackets) and the percentage of the standard in use from 1601 (and for gold, 1619) represented by the average weight.

Gold coins

England

James I	<i>Unites</i>	<i>Double crowns</i>	<i>Britain crowns</i>
	9.87 (4) 98.4	–	2.47 (2) 98.5
	<i>Laurels</i>	<i>Half-laurels</i>	<i>Quarter-laurels</i>
	9.01 (3) 99.0	4.49 (7) 98.6	2.21 (2) 97.1
Charles I	<i>Twenty shillings</i>	<i>Double crowns</i>	<i>Crown</i>
	9.04 (10) 99.3	4.40 (2) 96.7	2.24 (1) 97.1

Scotland

James VI	<i>Sword & Sceptre piece</i>
	4.97 (1) 97.6

Silver coins

England

<i>Tower</i>		<i>Sixpences</i>	<i>Shillings</i>	<i>Half crowns</i>
Edward VI			5.94 (1)	
Philip & Mary		2.70 (1)	5.72 (2)	
<i>Tower</i>		<i>Sixpences</i>	<i>Shillings</i>	<i>Half crowns</i>
Elizabeth I	1558–61		5.34 (14) 88.7	
	1561–82	2.64 (81) 87.7		
	1582–1603	2.64 (25) 87.7	5.45 (30) 90.5	
James I		2.72 (16) 90.4	5.60 (33) 93.0	
Charles I	(Lys) – Tun	2.83 (10) 94.0*	5.83 (50) 96.8	14.25 (20) 94.7*
	Anchor – Star	2.87 (5) 95.3*	5.93 (27) 98.5	14.87 (12) 98.8
	Triangle-in-circle	–	5.87 (33) 97.5	14.68 (21) 97.5*
	(P) – (R)	2.78 (1)	5.81 (16) 96.5	15.05 (19) 100.0
	Eye – Sceptre	2.68 (1)*	5.80 (15) 96.4	15.01 (14) 99.7*

Weights are averages following conservation for display; for most coins, this comprised simple treatment with methylated spirits to remove any adhering soil. An asterisk indicates those groups of silver coins where more than one third of the coins required chemical treatment to remove significant silver chloride corrosion products. Although some coins throughout the hoard retain superficial copper salts (derived from the base counterfeit, no. 496, or from a further, unidentified source) which might contribute to slightly high average weights, significant loss of silver from coins in the marked groups probably more than compensates for this, yielding artificially low figures for these groups. There is a full record of individual weights at the National Museum & Gallery Cardiff.

APPENDIX I: THE GOLD 'POSY' RING

During the recovery of the hoard, a gold ring was found in the same general area as the redeposited coins. The fine 'posy' ring has an external diameter of 21 mm, internal diameter 18.5 mm and weighs 8.664

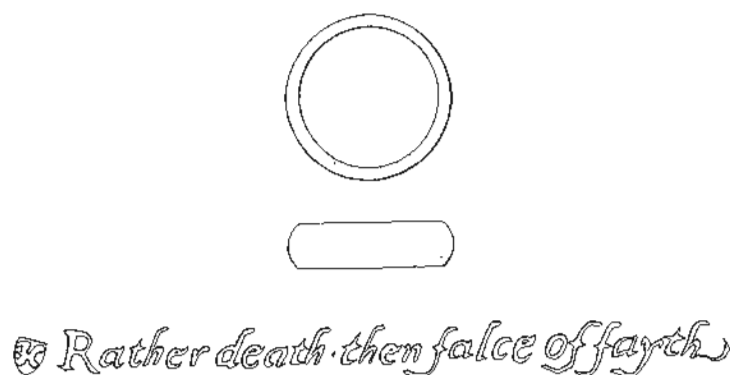


Fig. 2 Tregwynt Treasure Trove: gold ring
 Drawn by Tony Daly. scales: ring 1:1; inscription 2:1

grammes.³⁴ The hoop is rounded on the outside to a flattened 'D' section. The outside is plain and the interior of the band is inscribed in italic script '*Rather death then falce of fayth*' and has a punched maker's mark 'EH' within a plain shield (fig. 2). The mark appears to be unascrived.³⁵ Finger rings of this form were common during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and similar inscriptions exist in various collections, for instance '*Rather dy then faith deny*'.³⁶ The ring appears never to have been worn and was probably not very old when buried.

The form of the ring only provides a broad seventeenth- or eighteenth-century date, but the spelling and letter forms of the engraved inscription are consistent with a date in the first half of the seventeenth century.³⁷ Although other objects have been collected from the site, the only other definite seventeenth-century finds are those associated with the hoard. The ring therefore most probably formed part of the Tregwynt hoard: it was declared Treasure Trove along with the coins on 12 June 1997, has been acquired by NMGW for display with the coins.

APPENDIX 2: THE CONTAINER

Six fragments of pottery of a standard seventeenth-century fabric, brown-glazed redware, freshly broken and apparently from a single vessel, were recovered from the same soil as the coins and ring. The sherds are dense and smooth and the glaze a glossy light brownish green (internally) to thick dark brown (a dribbled partial external glaze). The vessel was probably an internally glazed ovoid lid-seated jar, with a rim diameter approximately 16.5 cm. These can have handles and occasionally tripod feet. Similar forms are known from seventeenth-century contexts at Montgomery Castle and within the typology of the seventeenth-century gravel-tempered wares found in south-west Wales.³⁸

Also found was a squared sheet of lead, 15 x 16 cm. Its size is consistent with the possibility that it had served as a cover for the pot, though it is not in itself closely datable.

³⁴ If of 22ct (Crown) gold, the ring's contribution to the hoard's intrinsic value would have been nineteen shillings.

³⁵ The mark does not appear in *Jackson's Silver and Gold Marks of England, Scotland and Ireland*, edited by I. Pickford (Woodbridge, 1989).

³⁶ O.M. Dalton, *Franks Bequest, Catalogue of the Finger*

Rings Early Christian, Byzantine, Teutonic, Medieval and Later (1912), no. 1287. ['then' = 'than'].

³⁷ Information from Dr M. Redknap (NMGW) and Dr Susan J. Davies, University of Wales, Aberystwyth.

³⁸ M. Redknap, pers. comm.

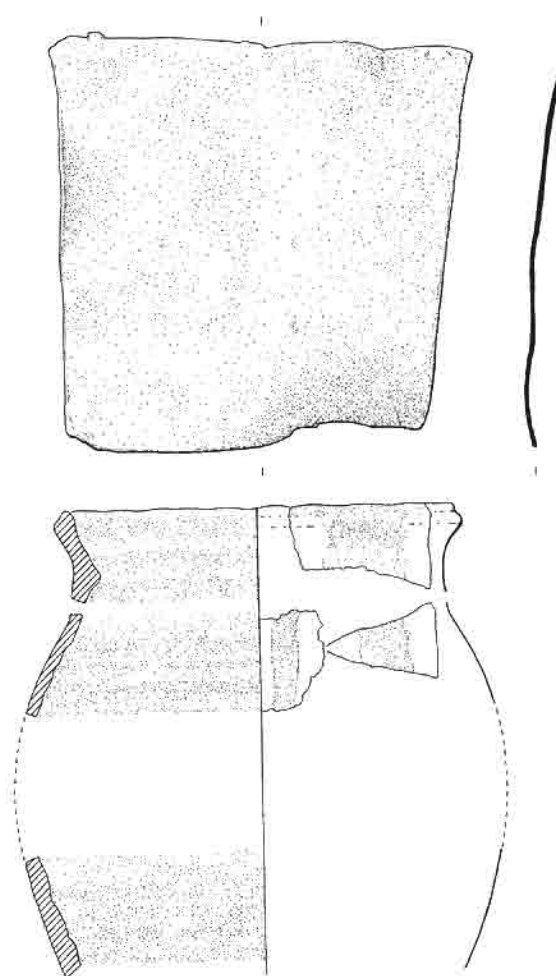


Fig. 3 Tregwynt hoard: probable container and lid
Drawn by Tony Daly. Scale 1:3

APPENDIX 3: CHARLES I COIN HOARDS FROM WALES

<i>Ref</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Latest</i>
–	Mynydd Fochriw, Mid Glam. 1991	8 AR	£0-9-9d	Tun, 1636–8
–	Pontypridd, Mid Glam. 1988	35 AR	£0-16-9d	Triangle, 1638–9
E9	Glascoed, Gwent, 1979	11 AR	£0-7-9d	(P) 1643–4+
E14	Prestatyn, Flint (Clwyd), 1934	519 AR	£20-14-0d	(P) probably
E22	Monmouth, 1868	large? (18 recorded)		(P)
F13	Penybryn, Clwyd, 1979	105 AR	£6-12-1d	(R)/1644; incl. York, Ox., W, CH, 'Chester'
F15	Ewenny, Glam., 1983	3 AR	£0-3-0d	(R), with pistols, in breastplate
F14	Trehafod, Mid Glam., 1941	28 AR	£1-10-0d	Eye?, 1645+
–	Tregwynt, Pembs., 1996	33 AU, 467 AR	£51-9-0d	Sceptre/1646; Shr, Ox, Br, W/SA, A, Ex, 'Blacksmith', 'Ormonde'
K1	Abernant, Carm., 1809	60 AR	?	?
K6	Bodfari, Flint, 1927	11+AR	£0-7-6d+	?
K11	Conwy, 1835	4 AU, 1174 AR	£43-17-6d	T-in-C or (P)?
K41	Llangunllo, Radnor, 1814	'Many' AR	?	?
K42	Llysworney, Glam., 1864	~60 AR ?	?	?
K49	Pendoylan, Glam., 1907	27 AR	?	?

APPENDIX 4: CIVIL WAR HOARDS CLOSING WITH P.M. SCEPTRE

J1	Boston, Lincs, 1886	291 AR	£15-14-6d
J2	East Worlinton, Devon, 1895	5188 AR	£242-18-10½d (3 pots)
J3	Guildford, Surrey, 1983	175 AR	£15-2-6d
J4	Hadleigh, Suffolk, 1936	97 AR	£4-4-0d
–	Middleham, N. Yorks, 1993	5099 AR	£312-14-6d (3 pots)
J5	Sheerness, Isle of Sheppey, 1968	417 AR	£22-17-6d
–	Tregwynt, Pembs, 1996	33 AU, 467 AR	£51-9-0d
J6	Whittingham, Lincs, 1853	301 AR	£10-15-0d+ (c. £16?)
J7	Wyke, Bradford, 1982	1048 AR	£38-13-8d (2 pots)

APPENDIX 5: PROBATE INVENTORY OF LLEWELLIN HARRIE; TREGWYNT, PEMBS., 1662/3³⁹

An Inventarie of all and singuler the goods chattells and debts of Lewhellin Harries late of Tregwint in the County of Pembroke gent deceased a widdower taken valued and appraised the sixteen day of March in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred & sixty two by Thomas Phillipps gent and David Phillipps as followes

Imprimis six pairs of oxen praised att	18 li	
Item twelve kine praised att	9 li	
Item sheepe one hundred and sixty praised att	5 li	
Item more two yeare old Heyfers praised att		
Item more foure Heyfers of a yeare old praised att	3 li	
Item Horses twelve praised att)	
Item more two Coultis praised att	)	15 li
Item three stackes of Barly praised att	)	4 li
Item wheate one stacke praised att		
Item more one stacke of wheate & Oats praised att		3 li
Item oats three stacks praised att)	
Item peese one parte of recke praised att	)	3 li
Item ten swyne praised att)	
Item geese five & a gander praised att	)	10s
Item six ducks and a mallord praised att)	
Item two table boords praised att)	
Item two wodden Cheires praised att	)	10s
Item one presse Cuppeart praised att)	
Item one skue praised att	)	[<i>settle (sgiw)</i> ; inf. C. Stevens]
Item three Iron brandas praised att	)	[<i>branders: gridirons or trivets</i>]
Item two Iron planks praised att	)	[<i>bake stones; C.S.</i>]
item two old Iron broches praised att	)	10s [broaches: iron wedges]
Item one paire of Iron Brickconds praised att	)	[?derived from <i>brigwn</i> , pl. <i>brigynau</i> : <i>andirons, fire dogs</i>]
Item seven hemping baggs praised att)	
Item one great hemping winwing sheet praised att	)	5s [winnowing]
Item two smalle hemping winwing sheets praised att)	

³⁹ National Library of Wales, SD/1662/42: will, inventory and administration bond of Llewellyn Harrie.

Item two dozen of boords praised att	)	2s	
Item two plowitt furniture praised att	)		[ploughs with]
Item three harrows & one dragg with furniture praised att	)	10s	[drag: heavy harrow]
Item two Carts with furniture praised att)		
Item three old skidds with furniture praised att	)	11i	[sledges?: reading uncertain]
Item one Churne praised att)		
Item one old brason mortar praised att	)	12d	
Item foure bush of peese praised att	)		[bushels]
Item three bush of barly praised att	)	11i	
Item five turckyes & one turcke Cocke praised att	)	2s	
Item one stacke of peese praised att	)		[no figure]
Item plates fourty ownness praised att	)	5 li	[plate]
Item of pewter two & fifty pounds praised att)		
item 3 old brass Candlesticks praised att	)	11i-10s	
Item one Caldron praised att)		
Item one great brass Crock praised att)		
Item two great brass pannes & two smalle brass pannes praised att	)	5li	
Item one smalle br: Crock praised att)		
Item two hogsetts praised att)		
Item two Barrells praised att)		
Item three old Bedds steeds praised att	)	11i	
Item one new Bedd steed praised att)		
Item six Blanketts praised att)		
Item three [C]overlets praised att	)	10s	
Item foure old Joynstools praised att	)	5d	
Item one side Cuppert praised att)		
Item one presse Cuppert praised att	)	5s	
		Sume totallis	li s d
			78-6-5
		[in different hand:]	77-15-5 [this is correct]

Llewellyn Harrie died early in 1663 (New Style). His will, dated 8 May 1659, was proved at Carmarthen on 19 March 1662/3.⁴⁰ Very few seventeenth-century inventories from Wales appear to have been published, and the above complements usefully another north Pembrokeshire inventory, that of James Bowen of Llwyngwair, Nevern, in 1629.⁴¹ Bowen's inventory totalled £97-1s-4d, comparable in general scale with Harrie's. They give an impression of two substantial farms, though Harrie's furniture and furnishings seem distinctly bare when compared with Bowen's. Items such as household linen, pillows, bolsters and cushions, commonly included in inventories of

⁴⁰ F. Jones, 'Harries of Tregwynt' (note 7), pp. 112-13.

⁴¹ E.D. Jones, 'An inventory of a Pembrokeshire squire's chattels, 1629', *National Library of Wales Journal* 8 (1953-4), 222-4. See also the inventory of Griffith Wynn, Mercer (Caernarvon, 1673) in G.C. Boon, *Welsh Tokens of the*

Seventeenth Century (Cardiff, 1973), pp. 43-75; and T.M. Owen, 'Some Llein inventories of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *Caernarvonshire Historical Society Transactions* 21 (1960), 70-80.

this level of detail, are absent, where at Llwyngwair they amount to over £4: hard for the appraisers to overlook, though other necessities such as chamber pots (fourpence apiece at Llwyngwair) might be regarded *de minimis*.

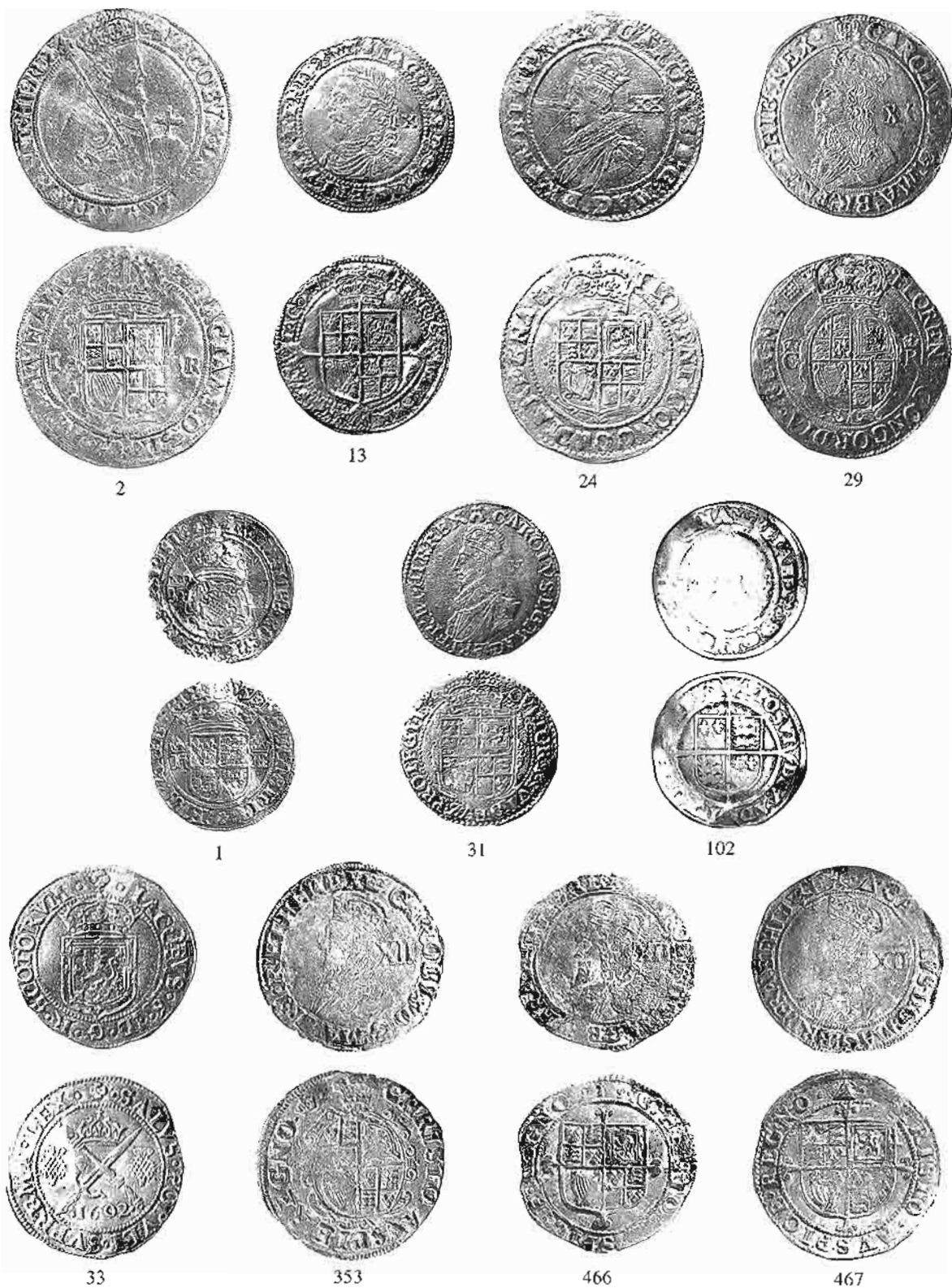
One Tregwynt entry may, however, be of wider interest: at the time of his death Llewellyn Harrie owned five turkeys and a turkey cock – presumably American or Mexican, hardier birds than the more ‘domesticated’ breeds subsequently developed.⁴² The size of the flock would have sufficed for his own table, perhaps producing a few surplus birds for market, and is close to the one cock and six hen turkeys regarded as appropriate for ‘any farm not small’ around 1800.⁴³ Turkeys were introduced to England around 1524 and by 1615 were recognised members of the poultry-yard.⁴⁴ In Wales, the Tregwynt reference is paralleled a little later by the estate inventory at Wynnstay, Denbighshire in 1683–6, which included ‘9 old turkies & 2 young ones’.⁴⁵

⁴² M. Collier (Norfolk Rural Life Museum), *in litt.* 8 January 1998, quoting *Encyclopedia of Agriculture* (1853), pp. 799ff.

⁴³ W. Gilbey, *Farm Stock 100 Years Ago* (1910), reprinted as *Farm Stock of Old* (Liss, 1976), p. 122, quoting *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. 39 (1803).

⁴⁴ E. Brown, *Races of Domestic Poultry* (n.d., c. 1900) p. 193.

⁴⁵ F. Jones, ‘Wynnstay in 1683–6’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 95 (1940), 48–56.



BESLY: TREGWYNT CIVIL WAR HOARD (1)



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BESLY: TREGWYNT CIVIL WAR HOARD (2)



BESLY: TREGWYNT CIVIL WAR HOARD (3)



MAYHEW AND BESLY: BROUGHTON HOARD

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

THE GOLD COINAGE OF EADBALD, KING OF KENT (AD 616–40)

GARETH WILLIAMS

MARK Blackburn has recently published a short discussion of the AVDVARLD REGES shilling type.¹ This was prompted by the discovery in 1997 of a new example of the type at Tangmere, near Chichester, in Sussex. This was acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, and Dr Blackburn's article compared the Tangmere coin with the well-known examples from the Crondall hoard of 1828 (now in the Ashmolean Museum) and the Pas-de-Calais (now in the collection of the American Numismatic Society in New York).² All three coins were struck from the same obverse die, but each was struck from a different reverse die. Dr Blackburn accepted the attribution of the type to Eadbald of Kent, and suggested that all three reverse inscriptions represent more or less blundered versions of a literate original which had the moneyer and mint form familiar from late Saxon coins. Both of these interpretations seem entirely reasonable, and the purpose of this note is not to challenge Dr Blackburn's views. However, in the few months since the publication of Dr Blackburn's article, two further examples of the type have come to light, and it seems appropriate to discuss all five coins together in a more accessible forum than Dr Blackburn's original publication. (Pl. 26, 1–5)

One of the 'new' finds was actually the first of the five to be discovered. It was in the eighteenth-century cabinet of Dr William Hunter (although its previous provenance is unrecorded), and is now in the Hunterian collection in Glasgow. The existence of this coin seems largely to have escaped the notice of scholars, but the recent publication by Donal Bateson and Ian Campbell of a catalogue of Byzantine and early Medieval coins in the Hunterian has brought it to the public eye.³ The final example, like the Tangmere coin, is a metal detector find, discovered near Shorne in Kent in 1998. This has now been acquired by the British Museum, with the financial assistance of the British Museum Society. Like the other three coins, these two share the same obverse die, but have different reverses, giving a total of five reverse dies to one obverse. All five give distinct blundered versions of the reverse inscription, although there is some consistency between the five inscriptions, and both the Hunterian and the Pas-de-Calais coins contain a clear London mint signature.

All five coins share the same obverse. The inscription is partially off-flan in every case, but survives almost complete on the Crondall coin, as follows:

AVDVARLD + REGES

There are three points of interest within the inscription. Firstly, the antepenultimate letter of the first word is only clearly visible on the Crondall coin, and even there the top of the letter goes off the edge of the coin. It is thus impossible to be certain whether this letter represents a B or an inverted R. The final letter of the name is a D with a line through it. The most obvious interpretation is that this represents the form *ð*, or *eth*, used in the Germanic languages to represent the sound <th>. Thus Michael Metcalf transliterates the name as Audvarlth,⁴ although Ian Stewart gives the form

Audvarld.⁵ More recently however, Sean Miller has suggested that the stroke through the D may represent a suspension mark indicating an abbreviation of the Latin ending -us, giving a form Auduarldus or Auduabldus,⁶ and Marion Archibald has similarly suggested that it may represent an abbreviated Latin genitive ending.⁷ This would accompany the REGES, which she takes to represent Latin genitive singular *regis*, giving the overall meaning 'Of King Audvarld'. This would explain the curiosity of the form REGES in place of the more usual REX.

¹ Mark Blackburn, 'A New Coin of King Eadbald of Kent (616–40)', in *Chris Rudd*, List 34 (1998), pp. 2–4.

² C.H.V. Sutherland, 'Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard', London 1948, no. 77–8, pl. IV, 22–3; D.M. Metcalf, 'Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford', London 1993–4, I, no. 50; *SCBI* 16 (Norweb Collection), no. 42.

³ J.D. Bateson and I.G. Campbell, 'Byzantine and Early Medieval Western European Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet,

University of Glasgow', London 1998, p. 171, pl. 28&29.

⁴ Metcalf, 'Thrymsas and Sceattas', I, p. 61.

⁵ I. Stewart, 'Anglo-Saxon gold coins', in *Scripta Nummaria Romana*, edited by R.A.G. Carson & C.M. Kraay, London 1978, pp. 143–72.

⁶ Cited in Blackburn, *Eadbald of Kent*, p. 3.

⁷ M.M. Archibald, Review of D.M. Metcalf, 'Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford', in *BNJ* 67 (1997), pp. 150–3.

The forms Auduarldus and Auduabldus are close to the forms *Adulualdi* and *Audubaldi*, given for Eadbald of Kent by Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, written nearly a century after the death of Eadbald. Apart from the coins, no contemporary form of the name survives. Nevertheless, the attribution to Eadbald is now widely accepted. Dating the coins to the reign of Eadbald (616–40) is consistent with the fact that one of the coins was found in the Crondall hoard. By analogy with the fineness of Merovingian coins, Crondall is thought to date to c. 640,⁸ while from its relative fineness the 'Eadbald' coin is one of the earliest pieces in the hoard.⁹ Furthermore, not only does the name-form on the coin resemble that given for Eadbald, there is no other king

of the period who presents a viable alternative, especially since the coins may be attributed to the mint of London (see below), which effectively limits the production of the coins to kings of the East Saxons or of Kent.¹⁰ Eadbald is also known to have converted to Christianity in the course of his reign, which is consistent with the use of the overtly Christian symbol of the cross and globe on both obverse and reverse.¹¹ Thus, whilst the coins cannot be attributed to Eadbald *prima facie*, there are a number of aspects which point to this attribution, and no evidence to the contrary.

Whilst all five coins share the same obverse die, each has a different reverse, although all are apparently different versions of the same inscription.

...INB AZZONDENV

Pas-de-Calais

+ T I P N I B A Z Z O N D E H V Z

Hunterian

+ T I P N I B A Z Z O E H V Z

Shorne

+ T I P N I B A Z Z O E H V Z

Crondall

+ T I P N I B A Z Z O E H V Z

Tangmere

The five coins may be divided into two groups. Those from the Pas-de-Calais and the Hunterian have the form LONDENVVS, which is taken to be a London mint signature, and both are close in style to the obverse die. However, the first part of the legend on the Hunterian reverse is clearly blundered, whereas on the Pas-de-Calais coin this part of the legend is illegible, since all but the bases of the letters are off-flan. It is thus possible that the Pas-de-Calais coin represents the original, (more or less) literate, reverse die, but it could equally well represent another blundered version of the legend. Thus while the Pas-de-Calais die may be suggested as the first in the series, it may actually come after the Hunterian die, with a literate original still to be discovered. The remaining three coins all have blundered legends throughout, although a form of the LONDENVVS legend can be recognised in all three. Similarly, the first

section of all three legends bears some resemblance to that on the Hunterian coin. Of the three, it is difficult to establish a clear sequence. Stylistically, the Shorne reverse appears closest to the obverse and to the earlier two reverses. The forms of LONDENVVS on this reverse and the Crondall coin are close, suggesting that the two should be close in the sequence. This would suggest a sequence of Shorne, Crondall, Tangmere. This would also fit with the relative crudity of some of the letter forms on the Tangmere coin. By contrast, Tangmere and Shorne are both close to the Hunterian reverse in the first part of the legend, with Tangmere arguably the closer of the two, which could suggest the sequence Tangmere, Shorne, Crondall. However, one should note that the legend on the Crondall coin is partially obliterated, and if it were not for this, it might be equally close to the Hunterian coin. Thus on balance

⁸ J.P.C. Kent, 'Problems of chronology in the seventh-century Merovingian coinage', *Cunobelin* 13 (1967), 24–30; J.P.C. Kent, 'Gold Standards of the Merovingian coinage, A.D. 580–700', in *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, edited by E.T. Hall and

D.M. Metcalf, London 1972, pp. 69–74.

⁹ Stewart, *Anglo-Saxon gold coins*, p. 147.

¹⁰ Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage*, pp. 44–5, 53.

¹¹ Blackburn, *Eadbald of Kent*, p. 3.

an overall sequence of Pas-de-Calais, Hunterian, Shorne, Crondall, Tangmere is perhaps to be preferred, but this is clearly open to personal interpretation.

As mentioned above, Dr Blackburn has suggested that the reverse legend may represent a combination of moneyer's name and mint name, with the

LONDENV element clearly representing London, and the preceding elements representing different blundered versions of a personal name. He suggested that this might be a form ending in -DVNBAL, -AVNBAL or similar.¹² Dr Bateson and Dr Campbell, however, suggest the form TIPNEAL for the Hunterian coin.¹³

TABLE 1. Weights, diameters and fineness of the five coins of the AVDVARLD REGES type, in descending weight order.

	Weight (g)	Diameter (mm)	Fineness (% gold)
Glasgow, Hunterian Collection	1.30	12	—
New York, Pas-de-Calais	1.29	12	64
London, Shorne	1.28	12	74
Cambridge, Tangmere	1.27	14	72
Oxford, Crondall	1.26	13	69

Weight and diameter are fairly consistent between the five coins, although there is greater variety in fineness (see Table 1). Interestingly, the coins which from their inscriptions seem to come earliest in the sequence have both the smallest diameters and the highest weights, the latter tending to confirm the sequence established by the inscriptions. However, this is not the case with the fineness. The Shorne coin, which should be relatively late in the sequence has the highest recorded percentage of gold, whilst the Pas-de-Calais example, which should be close to the head of the sequence, is of significantly poorer quality than the others. It is unfortunate that at present the fineness of the Hunterian coin, which one might expect to be closest to that of the Pas-de-Calais coin, is not yet available. It would be rash to read too much into the variation in fineness, however. At such an early stage in the English coinage one may question whether either king or moneyer was particularly concerned about the precise metal content of the coins

as long as they appeared to be of reasonably high quality gold. The variation in the coins may simply reflect variation in the quality of gold artefacts (or Merovingian coin) melted down to provide the raw material for the coins. This is consistent with a broader pattern in the fineness of Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon gold coins of Eadbald's period. Fineness ranges from ninety down to fifty per cent, but whilst an overall decline can be traced throughout the late sixth to seventh century period, this was not a smooth progression.¹⁴ Furthermore, one may note that in other types found in the Crondall hoard, a variation of ten per cent in fineness is not remarkable, and furthermore this variation does not appear to be consistent with the sequence of dies within individual types.

Despite the range of fineness to be found within a single type, it may nevertheless be instructive to compare the fineness of the Eadbald coinage with those of the other Anglo-Saxon types found in Crondall.

TABLE 2. Comparative fineness of those types from the Crondall hoard described by Metcalf as 'substantive Anglo-Saxon types', with a further subdivision (following Stewart) between the WITMEN prototype and WITMEN derivatives.¹⁵

Type	Upper limit	Lower limit	Mean	Sample
Cross on Steps	78	63.4	70.7	2
Eadbald	74	64	69.75	4
'London derived'	70.9	59.0	63.6	10
WITMEN prototype	70.1	60.9	65.2	3
LONDVNIV	68.7	60.8	64.1	7
Abbo	65.5	—	65.5	1
LEMC	64.7	52.1	58.8	8
EAN	63.0	35.1	48.3	4

¹² Blackburn, *Eadbald of Kent*, p. 3.

¹³ Bateson & Campbell, *Byzantine and Early Medieval Coins*, p. 171.

¹⁴ R.F. Coleman, and A. Wilson, 'Activation analyses of Merovingian gold coins', in E.T. Hall & D.M. Metcalf (editors), as in n. 8, pp. 88-92, 100-107; W.A. Oddy, 'The Analysis of Four Hoards of Merovingian Gold Coins', in Hall

& Metcalf, (editors), pp. 111-26. I am grateful to Mike Cowell of the Department of Scientific Research at the British Museum for analysing the Shorne coin, and for helpful comments and references on the metallurgy of the period.

¹⁵ Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas*, p. 36 & pl. 1-3; Stewart, *Anglo-Saxon gold coins*, pp. 169-70.

Type	Upper limit	Lower limit	Mean	Sample
WITMEN derived	62.4	42.5	52.3	18
Cross/Cross	60.7	48.7	55.9	5
Bust/Cross	62.1	60.1	61.1	2
Licinius	58.8	51.1	55.1	9
Bust/LOND	57.5	—	57.1	1

Whether one looks at the upper limit, the lower limit or the mean, the coinage of Eadbald is close to the top of the table, with the only issue of comparable fineness being the Anglo-Merovingian 'Cross on Steps' type. Despite the *caveat* expressed earlier, this does suggest that these two types may well be earlier than the majority of coins in the Crondall hoard. This would be consistent with the opinion expressed earlier that the Crondall example of the Eadbald type comes towards the end of the type stylistically, as well as having the lowest weight of the five known examples, and the fact that the Eadbald coin is one of the finest pieces in the Crondall hoard. This would suggest that the coinage of Eadbald is so slightly represented in Crondall because the hoard was deposited at a period when the coinage in the name of Eadbald was falling out of use. Given Eadbald's regnal dates of AD616–40, this would be consistent with the dating of the deposition of Crondall to the early 640s. It also tends to confirm that the coinage of Eadbald is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the substantive Anglo-Saxon coinages.¹⁶

The new finds also shed a very different light on the comparative rarity of the type. Most of the types found in Crondall have yet to be discovered separately. Thus, whilst more examples are known in total of both the LVNDINIV (7) and Licinius (10) types than of the Eadbald type, the Eadbald type is known from five separate finds (all but one provenanced) including Crondall, the LVNDINIV type is known only from Crondall, and the Licinius type only from Crondall and one other find. Furthermore, each of these types is known from one obverse die and three reverses, compared to one obverse and five reverses for the Eadbald type. Both features suggest that the coinage in the name of Eadbald may have been more substantial than either of the others. This does not mean that it was such a substantial coinage as the WITMEN group (including derivatives), with twenty-

nine known examples,¹⁷ of which only twenty-one came from Crondall, with only three others provenanced, giving a total of four to nine separate finds. The type has a total of eleven obverses and twelve reverses, suggesting a much more substantial coinage. Similarly the so-called 'London-derived' group (the London derivation is highly questionable) is known from thirteen examples, including nine from Crondall and another three with provenances, giving a total of four to five separate finds. This type has a total of four obverse and nine reverses, again indicating a more substantial issue.

Nevertheless, the existence of five reverse dies for the Eadbald type, with five separate finds, suggests a coinage of some size. One may reasonably question whether an issue made for purely donative purposes would be likely to require so many reverses. Whilst on the current evidence it appears to be a less substantial coinage than either the WITMEN or 'London derivative' types, it also appears to be earlier, and furthermore to be very close to the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon series. Thus the fact that slightly later issues appear to be more substantial may reflect the spread and development of a monetary economy in southern England. In that case, the gold coinage of Eadbald may plausibly be interpreted as the small-scale beginning of a monetary economy, rather than simply a symbolic issue for the purposes of royal status or religious donation.

KEY TO PLATE 26

- 1 Pas-de-Calais
- 2 Hunterian
- 3 Shorne
- 4 Crondall
- 5 Tangmere

¹⁶ Discussion of the unique (and early) LEVDARDVS EP and EVSEBII MONITA coins, and of the broader category of so-called 'Anglo-Merovingian' coinage, falls outside the scope of this paper. A more substantial discussion of early Anglo-Saxon gold is planned for the near future.

¹⁷ Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas*, p. 58, lists 28 examples. A further example, without provenance, but from the same dies as Sutherland pl. IV, 13, was shown at the British Museum in 1990.

A FURTHER PARCEL FROM THE APPLIEDORE HOARD

GARETH WILLIAMS

THE hoard of Anglo-Saxon pennies discovered near Appledore in Kent in 1997 is now reasonably well known. Both my preliminary report, and a response to that report by Stewart Lyon, have already appeared in *Spinks Numismatic Circular*.¹ The hoard contained 490 silver pennies, which with a few exceptions were all of the 'Expanding Cross' type of Edward the Confessor, c. 1050–1053. This type is unusual in having two distinct weight standards, of which only the 'heavy' issue is represented in the hoard, although a handful of earlier lighter types are also included. On the basis of the composition of the hoard, I have suggested the possibility that the heavy issue of 'Expanding Cross' may precede the light. This view has been challenged, though not entirely dismissed, by Stewart Lyon, drawing on material of other hoards. Both of us are in agreement, however, that firm conclusions cannot be drawn until both the hoard and the type have been fully studied. The hoard has now been acquired by the British Museum, and full publication can be expected in due course. I therefore do not propose to renew the discussion at this point.

However, it does seem proper to draw to public attention the discovery of a further parcel from the same hoard, discovered in the summer of 1998. In all,

this contained twelve coins, including one cut half-penny, and one penny broken into two fragments, with a further fragment missing. This takes the total of the hoard to 502 coins including twenty-eight cut halves, plus some very small fragments. The new parcel reflects the pattern of the hoard generally. All the coins are of the heavy sub-group of the 'Expanding Cross' type. Seven of the coins are from Canterbury, with just over half of the whole hoard from the same mint. However, as in the main hoard, coins from relatively distant mints are represented, with one coin each from Northampton and Nottingham. Neither of these mints was previously represented in the hoard, so this gives a total of thirty-four mints for the hoard: Bedford, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Chester, Chichester, Colchester, Dorchester, Dover, Exeter, Gloucester, Hastings, Hereford, Huntingdon, Ilchester, Ipswich, Leicester, Lewes, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Romney, Sandwich, Shaftesbury, Stamford, Steyning, Thetford, Wallingford, Wilton, Winchester, York.

The contents of the 1998 parcel of the hoard are as follows:

<i>Mint</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Moneyers and weights</i>
Canterbury	7	EDPERD (1.70, 1.58), ELPED (1.57, 1.58), GYLDEPINE (1.66, 1.71), MANNA (1.48)
London	2	LEOFRED (1.68, 1.66)
Northampton	1	LEOFINE (1.70)
Nottingham	1	PVLNOD (1.62) (in two pieces, with a further fragment missing)
Winchester	1	GODPI [NE] (0.67) (cut half)

THE ENGLEHEART PARCEL OF COINS FROM THE 1817 DORKING HOARD

HUGH PAGAN

IN a previous article in this Journal the present writer drew attention in passing to a group of coins in a Sotheby sale of 11–12 April 1820 which were in his view evidently from the 1817 Dorking hoard of ninth-

century Anglo-Saxon coins.¹ The vendor of the coins concerned could be identified as Nathaniel Brown Engleheart, a proctor in Doctors' Commons,² and this writer's comment at the time was that 'research will no

¹ G. Williams, 'A Hoard of "Expanding Cross" Pennies From Appledore: Preliminary Report', *SNC* cvi, no. 4, May 1998, 152–3; S. Lyon, 'The "Expanding Cross" Type of Edward the Confessor and the Appledore (1997) Hoard', *SNC*, cvi, no. 10, December 1998, 426–8.

² H.E. Pagan, *The Coinage of the East Anglian Kingdom from 825 to 870*, *BNJ* 53 (1982), 41–83, at pp. 55–6, note 6.

³ The coins were sold anonymously, but contemporary annotated copies of the catalogue identify the vendor of these lots as 'Engleheart, Doctors' Commons'.

doubt show that he had some connection with Dorking'.

That the coins were from the Dorking hoard can now be securely established from a note by the celebrated contemporary collector James Dodsley Cuff against lot 210 in his interleaved and annotated copy of the 1824 sale catalogue of the collection of Thomas Dimsdale.³ The coin in question is one of the very rare coins of King Beornwulf of Mercia (823–825), of Portrait/Cross Crosslet type by the moneyer Eadnoth, and Cuff's note on it reads as follows:

One of those found near Dorking bought by Mr Engleheart of a Coachman. At his sale Mr Rodwell gave £11.11. for it. Mr D. obtained it for £11.0.06 at Mr Rodwell's sale.

As the coins acquired in this way by Mr Engleheart were not taken account of by Taylor Combe in his publication of the hoard in *Archaeologia*, they are effectively unpublished in the context of the Dorking hoard, and as they are identified in the 1820 catalogue by Ruding references not immediately intelligible today, it seems proper to list them here in a more up-to-date manner, with such annotation as seems necessary.

In the Sotheby catalogue of 11–12 April 1820 Engleheart's coin collection occupies lots 41–79, followed by his coin cabinet as lot 80. The coins in lots 41–43 and 59–79 constitute a small collection of English mediaeval and modern coins and medals without any items of particular interest, but those in lots 44–58, barring one coin of Edward the Confessor which was listed as a second coin in lot 58, are a homogeneous group of fifteen Anglo-Saxon coins struck between the 820s and the early 860s. The absence of any coins struck by London moneyers and the predominance within the parcel of coins of Open Cross type in the names of Kings Aethelwulf and Aethelberht are features entirely compatible with this being a parcel from the Dorking hoard, and there is no reason to suppose that any of the coins are interlopers from another source.

Of these, lots 46, 47, 54 and 57 were purchased by the dealer Whiteaves and no information is available on them other than that provided by the sale catalogue. Lots 44, 48, 50, 53, 56 and 58 were purchased by R.E. Rodwell, who died not long after and whose collection came up for sale in its turn as early as 27–29 November 1821; consideration of the 1821 sale catalogue adds a little to the information provided by the catalogue of April 1820. Lastly, lots 45, 49, 51, 52 and 55 were purchased by Lieut.-Col. William Durrant, and all five coins can be identified

in the 1847 sale catalogue of Durrant's collection, annotated copies of which both confirm the 1820 provenance and are of actual or potential help in determining the history of the coins after 1847.

The coins may be listed as follows:

EAST ANGLIAN MINT

Beornwulf of Mercia (823–825)

1. Portrait/Cross Crosslet type. Moneyer Eadnoth. Lockett (1958) 2663 ex Rashleigh (1909) 55 ex Murchison (1866) 96 ex Dymock (1858) 64 ex Joseph Barratt ex Rich (1828) 15 ex Dimsdale (1824) 210 ex Rodwell (1821) 84 ex Engleheart (1820) 44.

KENTISH MINTS

Aethelwulf of Wessex (839–858)

2. Cross and Wedges/SAXONIORVM type (Canterbury mint). Moneyer not stated in 1820 catalogue but Ruding reference given is to a coin of this type by the moneyer Osmund.

Engleheart (1820) 50, purchased by Rodwell = probably Rodwell (1821) 90, a coin of Aethelwulf, no other details (this lot added in ink in the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, copy of the catalogue).

3. Cross and Wedges/OCCIDENTALIVM SAXONIORVM type (Rochester mint). No moneyer.

Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge ex C.E. Blunt ex Sir John Hanham, Bart., ex Lord Grantley (1944) 979 ex Montagu (1895) 493 ex Shepherd (1885) 64 ex Dymock (1858) 107 ex G. Sparkes ex Durrant (1847) 9 ex Engleheart (1820) 51. The identity of the Dymock and Durrant specimens is shown by a note 'now mine T.F.D.' in Dymock's annotated copy of the Durrant catalogue.

4. DORIBI/CANT type (Canterbury mint). Moneyer Hunbearht.

J.B. Bergne (but not in Bergne sale catalogue, 1873 ?) ex Durrant (1847) 8 (lot purchased by Bergne) ex Engleheart (1820) 49. By 1873 Bergne seems to have replaced this coin by another coin of the same moneyer of a rare type variant on which CANT appears on the obverse and DORIBI on the reverse (Bergne (1873) 139, subsequently J.H. Young (1881) 10).

5. DORIBI/CANT type (Rochester mint). Moneyer Wealheard.

Rodwell (1821) 91 ex Engleheart (1820) 48. Although the Ruding references used to identify the coin in the catalogues of 1820 and 1821 vary, both are references

³ I owe this reference to the kindness of Tim Webb Ware, to whom Cuff's copy of this catalogue now belongs.

to coins of DORIBI/CANT type and the equation proposed here seems justifiable. Only the Rodwell catalogue names the moneyer.

6. Open Cross type. Moneyer Ethelnoth. Engleheart (1820) 46.

7. Open Cross type. Moneyer Hunbearht. Engleheart (1820) 45.

8. Open Cross type. Moneyer Torhtulf.

Durrant (1847) 5 (lot purchased by Brockett) ex Engleheart (1820) 45.

Aethelbearht of Wessex (858–866)

9. Open Cross type. Moneyer Aethelgeard. Engleheart (1820) 54.

10. Open Cross type. Moneyer Ethelred.

Assheton family collection ex Durrant (1847) 11 ex Engleheart (1820) 52.

11. Open Cross type. Moneyer Hunred.

Durrant (1847) 12 (lot purchased by Sparkes) ex Engleheart (1820) 55.

12. Open Cross type. Moneyer Manninc.

Presumably Cuff (1854) 440 ex Rodwell (1821) 92 ex Engleheart (1820) 53. The Rodwell catalogue does not name the moneyer of the coin in lot 92, but the coin purchased by Rodwell in the 1820 sale was of the moneyer Manninc; Cuff purchased lot 92 in the Rodwell sale; and lot 440 in the Cuff sale was of this same moneyer Manninc.

Archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury (833–870)

13. Bust/Monogram type. Moneyer not stated but the Ruding reference is to a coin of the moneyer Wunhere. Engleheart (1820) 57.

14. Bust/Monogram type. Type and moneyer not stated in 1820 catalogue, but the Ruding reference in the Rodwell catalogue is to a coin of this type of the moneyer Wunhere, as above.

Rodwell (1821) 88 ex Engleheart (1820) 58 (first coin).

15. Open Cross type. Moneyer not stated but Ruding reference in 1820 and Rodwell catalogues is to a coin of the moneyer Hebeca.

Rodwell (1821) 87 ex Engleheart (1820) 56.

A HOARD OF ÆDELRAED II 'LONG CROSS' PENNIES FROM BRAMDEAN COMMON, HAMPSHIRE

GARETH WILLIAMS

A parcel of nineteen late Saxon coins was discovered at Bramdean Common in Hampshire on 22 November 1997 by Mr Mark Carpenter, and a further coin of the same type discovered during subsequent archaeological investigation of the site. These coins were brought to the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum for examination on 5 February 1998. They were subsequently declared Treasure Trove, and have now been acquired by Winchester Museum. A photographic record of the coins remains at the British Museum.

The coins were largely found closely grouped, ranging from surface level to around one foot deep, with a further two or three coins found slightly to the north. All the coins are of the 'Long Cross' type of Ædelræd II, king of England, 978–1016. This type dates from c. 997–c. 1003, according to the currently accepted chronology. They were all produced by the moneyer Godric at the mint of London. The fact of all the coins being of the same type, mint and moneyer clearly indicates that they represent a single hoard, even though a few of the coins were discovered some distance from the rest. The disturbance of the soil in connection with clearance of the area in recent years probably accounts for the separation of these coins from the rest.

Archaeological investigation of the site yielded no associated finds, but did indicate more or less

continuous use of the site from the Roman period to the later Middle Ages. The site is also close to a road which is thought likely to have existed in the period at which the coins were deposited.

The coins were all struck from the same pair of dies. This suggests that the coins had come more or less directly from the mint. Normally, it would also be reasonable to suppose that they came from a single striking, especially since all the coins share a die axis of 270°. However, close examination of the reverses suggests that the coins were struck on two or more occasions. Whilst all the coins came from the same dies, wear is apparent in the reverse die on some coins but not on others. The reverse inscription reads +GO/DRIC/MOL/VND, with the groups of letters divided by the crescent terminals of the central cross. While the coins are generally well preserved (the single coin found during subsequent excavation is bent, and rather more battered than the rest, possibly as a result of modern tree-clearance on the site), there is one point on the reverse inscription which shows notable variation in quality. The three-crescent terminal of the cross between the L and the V of the mint signature is perfectly clear on eight of the coins, but completely bare on five more, suggesting that a die flaw had developed between the two striking. The remaining seven coins show some wear at this point, but it is not clear whether this represents simply

gradual wear or poor striking on the first of the two striking, or a separate striking as an intermediate phase.

No comparable patterns of wear appear on the obverse, which reads *ÆDELREDREXANGLO*. The weights do nothing either to confirm or dispel the suggested pattern of striking. Coins of the suggested first striking range between 1.39g and 1.55, coins of the possible intermediate striking between 1.41g and 1.55g, and coins of the final striking more closely grouped between 1.44g and 1.49g. While the upper end of the range is lowest on what is argued to be the latest group, the difference is too slight, and the overall numbers of

coins too low, for any valid statistical conclusions to be drawn.

This is interesting because it confirms what common sense would suggest – that the moneyer kept a stockpile of coins ready for exchange, rather than expecting his customer to wait while he melted down the silver which he had been given and prepared blanks on which to strike new coin. Such a 'production-line' approach seems particularly appropriate for a busy mint like London. However, the coins themselves can tell us nothing of why the depositor of the hoard should have obtained his coins from London rather than the nearby mint of Winchester.

A REVISED CHRONOLOGY OF THE ENGLISH COINAGE, 1317–1333

MARTIN ALLEN

PETER Woodhead and Ian Stewart used the recorded outputs of the London and Canterbury mints, and the representation of those mints in the Montrave hoard, to calculate that Fox class 15 was probably introduced in 1320.¹ The choice of 1 October 1317 as an arbitrary starting date for class 14, to coincide with the beginning of an accounting period, was a useful working hypothesis, with a stated error of a few months either way. Woodhead and Stewart assumed that class 13 was still in production at Durham in April 1317. The class 13 pence of Durham with the lion and lis mark of Bishop Lewis de Beaumont (1317–1333) were struck no earlier than June 1317. The writ authorizing the

supply of dies for Bishop Beaumont was issued on 1 June 1317,² and the first dies were at the exchequer on 10 June.³ The numbers of class 13 and class 14 coins of Bishop Beaumont in hoards seem to indicate that class 14 was introduced relatively early in the period between June 1317 and the inception of class 15. Table 1 shows data from five hoards, published substantially intact using the Fox classification.⁴ The 1886 Aberdeen hoard is tabulated separately, as only 9,754 coins from over 12,000 found have been adequately published.⁵ There is considerable variation in the statistics from the smaller hoards, but the predominance of class 14 pence is undeniable.

TABLE 1. Bishop Beaumont pence in hoards

<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Class 13</i>	<i>Class 14</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
Aberdeen 1983	7	15	
Aberdeen 1984	0	6	
Boyton	4	13	
Ednam	1	16	
Loch Doon	0	5	
<i>Totals</i>	12	55	1:4.6
Aberdeen 1886	9	54	1:6.0

Acknowledgements: Dr Robin Eagen, Mr Jeffrey North, and Lord Stewartby have read drafts of this note and offered many valuable comments and suggestions.

¹ Peter Woodhead and Ian Stewart, 'The Renfrew treasure trove, 1963', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 128–47, at pp. 129–31.

² *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, edited by T.D. Hardy (4 vols., Rolls Series 62; London, 1873–8), IV, p. 156. H. Montagu, 'Further notes concerning Bishop de Bury and the Durham coinage', *NC* 3rd ser. 15 (1895), 290–300, at pp.

291–92. *Calendar of Close Rolls 1313–1318*, p. 405.

³ Public Record Office E159/96 rot. 85d. On 10 June 1317 three new pairs of dies were handed over to Bishop Beaumont's representative, in accordance with the writ of 1 June. Three used piles and four used trussels were surrendered in return.

⁴ N.J. Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen, St Nicholas Street, hoards of 1983 and 1984', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 40–68. Derek Allen, 'The Boyton find of coins of Edward I and II', *NC* 5th ser. 16 (1936),

Woodhead and Stewart had to use statistics from only one hoard, Montrave, which provided the largest adequately recorded hoard group of Edwardian pence available when they wrote. This hoard was published by Edward Burns using his own classification, which unfortunately cannot be completely converted to the Fox classification.⁶ Burns types

A48 and A49 seem to have been approximately equivalent to Fox classes 14 and 15a-c respectively, but the Woodhead and Stewart statistics assuming exact equivalence must be compared with data from hoards published according to the Fox classification. Table 2 provides a comparison between the Montrave hoard and three of the hoards analysed so far.⁷

TABLE 2. Pence of classes 14-15c in hoards

Mint	Hoard	Class 14	Classes 15a-c	Ratio
Canterbury	Aberdeen 1983	55	76	1:1.38
	Aberdeen 1984	42	41	1:0.98
	Loch Doon	26	35	1:1.35
	Montrave	180	35	1:0.19
London	Aberdeen 1983	41	38	1:0.93
	Aberdeen 1984	22	20	1:0.91
	Loch Doon	16	19	1:1.19
	Montrave	103	33	1:0.32

The differences between the ratios suggest that the Montrave coins of type A48 included substantial numbers of class 15 pence, in addition to the class 14 pence expected, preventing further use of the Montrave

statistics. In Tables 3 and 4 aggregates for the other hoards in Table 2 are compared with the recorded Canterbury and London outputs from 1 October 1317 to 29 September 1327.⁸

TABLE 3. Canterbury hoard aggregates and mint output

Class	Coins	Cumulation	Period	Output	Cumulation
			1.10.1317- 30.9.1318	£21,751 (33%)	33%
14	123 (45%)	45%			
15a	34 (12%)	57%	1.10.1318- 30.9.1319	£17,883 (27%)	60%
			1.10.1319- 30.9.1320	£16,060 (24%)	84%
15b	84 (31%)	88%	1.10.1320- 30.9.1321	£5,618 (8%)	92%
			1.10.1321- 6.10.1322	£3,811 (6%)	98%
15c	34 (12%)	100%	7.10.1322- 30.9.1323	£1,090 (2%)	100%

115-55. N.M. McQ. Holmes with Valerie E. Dean, 'The Ednam, Roxburghshire, hoard (1995)', *BNJ* 66 (1996), 33-59. Peter Woodhead, B.H.I.H. Stewart and G.L.V. Tatler, 'The Loch Doon treasure trove, 1966', *BNJ* 38 (1969), 31-49. Pence described as transitional between classes 13 and 14 have been counted with the coins of class 14. Mayhew, p. 47, notes the occurrence of a class 13 face on coins with a class 14 crown. J. J. North *et al.*, *The J. J. North Collection: Edwardian English Silver Coins 1279-1351 with Some Supplementary Examples* (SCBI 39, London, 1989), pp. 27-28 and text to pl. 30 describes the class 13 letter E and initial cross found on some coins of class 14.

⁵ N.J. Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen Upperkirkgate hoard of 1886', *BNJ* 46 (1975), 32-50.

⁶ G.L.V. Tatler and B.H.I.H. Stewart, 'Edwardian sterling in the Montrave hoard', *BNJ* 31 (1962), 80-87.

⁷ Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen Upperkirkgate hoard', pp. 37-39, compared the 1886 Aberdeen find with the Loch Doon hoard, and

suggested that the Aberdeen hoard's representation of the Canterbury and London mints was relatively unaffected by the dispersal of over 2,000 coins. However, this hoard's ratio between London coins of class 14 and classes 15a-c (1:1.73) is abnormally high, and it has been excluded from Tables 2 and 3. The Boynton and Ednam hoards have also been excluded, as they seem to have been deposited during the issue of class 15c and class 15b respectively, causing under-representation of classes 15a-c.

⁸ The London statistics in Table 4 exclude one coin of class 15a or 15b from the 1983 Aberdeen hoard counted in Table 2. The outputs are taken from *A New History of the Royal Mint*, edited by C.E. Challis (Cambridge, 1992), p. 678. The evidence for the ending of class 15c at the London mint with silver purchased in November 1326 and recorded in the account of 1 October 1326 - 29 September 1327 is discussed by Peter Woodhead, 'The early coinages of Edward III (1327-43)', J.J. North *et al.*, *The J. J. North Collection*, 54-78, at pp. 58-59.

TABLE 4. London hoard aggregates and mint output

Class	Coins	Cumulation	Accounts	Output	Cumulation
			1.10.1317– 30.9.1318	£13,185 (30%)	30%
14	79 (51%)	51%	1.10.1318– 30.9.1319	£8,729 (20%)	50%
15a	14 (9%)	60%	1.10.1319– 30.9.1320	£8,577 (20%)	70%
15b	37 (24%)	84%	1.10.1320– 30.9.1321	£9,325 (21%)	91%
			1.10.1321– 6.10.1322	£1,189 (3%)	94%
15c	25 (16%)	100%	7.10.1322– 29.9.1327	£2,500 (6%)	100%

It is probable that the earlier classes in Tables 3 and 4 are under-represented in the hoards, owing to losses from circulation, so that the true cumulations should be larger than the stated percentages, possibly implying later dates. Furthermore, it is possible that class 14 began later than 1 October 1317, requiring later estimated dates for subsequent types than would otherwise be suggested. Nevertheless, some tentative conclusions are possible. Class 14 probably ended in 1319.⁹ Woodhead and Stewart may have been right to suggest that class 15a was struck for only a few months,¹⁰ and it was probably produced in 1319 or 1319–1320. The production of class 15b seems to have ended in 1321.

Woodhead, in his review of the early coinages of Edward III, has shown that class 15c dies were still being used in London in November 1326, during the 1 October 1326–30 September 1327 accounting year. Class 15d dies seem to have been used in Canterbury from November 1328, and from February 1329 in London.¹¹ The class 15d pence of Durham belong to the same early variety, class 15d1, as the London coins and some of the Canterbury coins.¹² Woodhead has tentatively dated these Durham coins to 1328–30.¹³ It is possible that the crown in the centre of the class 15d1 reverse dies of Durham symbolized the

bishop's quasi-regal palatine rights, which included the mint.¹⁴ Bishop Beaumont petitioned for the maintenance of his palatine rights in both of the parliaments that met in 1327, obtaining an apparently unprecedented judgement confirming them in the January 1327 parliament.¹⁵ Class 15d2 dies seems to have been used at Canterbury to strike the silver received between 20 December 1330 and 26 March 1331, and class 15d2 dies were certainly supplied to York between 5 July and 28 December 1331.¹⁶ The dates for class 15d in Table 5 are consistent with Woodhead's evidence and conclusions.

TABLE 5. Summary of the proposed revised chronology

Class	Dates
14	1317/18–1319
15a	1319 or 1319–1320
15b	1319/20–1321
15c	1321–1327/8
15d1	1327/8–1330/1
15d2	1330/1–1335

⁹ Lord Stewartby has independently reached this conclusion.

¹⁰ Woodhead and Stewart, 'The Renfrew treasure trove', p. 131.

¹¹ Woodhead, 'The early coinages of Edward III', pp. 58–59.

¹² Class 15d2 is distinguished from class 15d1 by a pellet in the centre of the initial cross on the obverse, and by three additional pellets on the reverse.

¹³ Woodhead, 'The early coinages of Edward III', pp. 60–62, 66–67.

¹⁴ H.B. Earle Fox and J.S. Shirley-Fox, 'Numismatic history of the reigns of Edward I, II, and III' *BNJ* 10 (1913), 95–123, at p. 107 suggested that the crown on the class 15d pence of Durham was derived from the three crowns in the arms of the abbey in Bishop Richard de Bury's birthplace, Bury St Edmunds. The assumption that Richard de Bury used the arms of the abbey is contradicted by a chest made during his tenure of the bishopric (1333–1345), described and illustrated by C.C. Hodges, 'On some medieval carved chests' *Archaeologia Aeliana* new ser. 15 (1892), 295–309, at pp.

307–08 and pl. XXIX, and Richard Marks *et al.*, *The Burrell Collection* (London and Glasgow, 1983), p. 90. This chest is painted with the arms of the bishop's father, Sir Richard de Aungerville (*gules, a cinquefoil ermine pierced, within a border sable bezanty*), and with the bishop's own arms featuring the family cinquefoil in each angle of a cross.

¹⁵ William Hutchinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (3 vols., Newcastle upon Tyne and Carlisle, 1785–94), I, pp. 275–76. Robert Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (4 vols., London, 1816–40), I, pp. xl–xli, *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, pp. lxxx–lxxxii.

¹⁶ Woodhead, 'The early coinages of Edward III', pp. 59–60, 64–67, 77–78. Four purchases of silver, all dated 26 March 1331 in records of purchases in Canterbury from 20 December 1330 to 29 September 1331, may be the only purchases for the accounting period from 19 January to 29 September 1331. Dies for York were authorized by a writ of 5 July 1331, and on 28 December the York warden, Richard Snoweshill, received the expenses of sending his dies to London for replacement.

HALFGROATS IN THE HENRY IV – HENRY V PERIOD

ERIC HARRIS

A study of the die-links in the transitional period between Henry IV and Henry V was made on the small corpus of the recorded groats and halfgroats which I was able to assemble.¹ An unexplained observation was that the proportion of dies for halves to those for the groats diminished as the series progressed. The ratio between the numbers of the dies for halves to groats of the Henry IV 'Light Coinage' type III described by Potter² and supplemented in my paper is 3:5, which is very close to the ratio 15:24 between the numbers of coins with these obverses I was able to trace. In contrast the numbers of dies for the 'Emaciated Bust' (= type A) and those for the 'Scowling Bust' (= type B) count 3:11 and the numbers of coins I recorded are in the ratio 8:38. The striking of halves of these types seems almost to have ceased. This prompted the question whether halfgroats of new or different types without the mullet mark were being struck at this time. This leaves open the question of what the type will be. Given the importance of the mullet, as attested by its addition to old and previously used dies and on a type III half, it can be argued that any halves without mullet may have been struck for Henry IV. That there was a requirement for halves at the time is shown by the worn state of some specimens and the proliferation of dies for halves after the mullet mark was being used. There have turned up in the last decade examples of halves struck from new dies with a low crown and no mullet, whilst examination of specimens with the high crown discloses examples bearing no mullet. The purpose of this note is to describe what may be candidates for inclusion in Henry IV issues and to detail a certain mullet-bearing type of which the dies might have been used before the mullet had been added. A particular difficulty is that wear or encrustation removes or obscures the mark. References to type III, type A and type B are to descriptions in the previous paper.³

To commence with an account of the 'new' halves with low crown, it is apposite to provide such evidence as is available to put them in the temporal sequence of the issues; this depends upon linking their dies or particular components of the image on the die to what can be seen on earlier and later coins. There are single and perhaps unique coins from two distinct dies with a

low crown and no mullet but with elements of design which occur elsewhere. The obverse of Pl. 14, no. 1 has the face as on type III halves but on a longer neck, and the crown is like that used on halves of types A and B. On the breast above the tressure fleur there is a faint trefoil or quatrefoil. The reverse has a distinctive O with a swollen side and a small T in TAS; the arms of the long cross are longer than usual, as was the case on the Richard II reverse type IIa B illustrated by Potter on Pl. XX in his paper on that period.⁴ The larger size allows the outer legend to have ADIVTO all in one quarter. The obverse of Pl. 14, no. 2 has the face and bust as on the types A and B halves, and the reverse has the normal long cross and letter T, but the O is similar to the last. These two coins seem to have been struck from dies made from assorted puncheons. A third coin with low crown has a mullet added over a pellet to the right of the crown (Pl. 14, no. 3); whether the die had been used before the addition is a question. The face here is completely different – there is a fault in the crown band at the left. The same portrait and crown is seen on a penny which also has a mullet over pellet to the right of the crown.⁵ Both the halfgroat and the penny have reverses bearing the O with swollen side. The reverse for the halfgroat is also found with a new obverse (Pl. 14, no. 4 obv.) which has a portrait with the high crown and no mullet. An annulet replaces the fleur on the tressure cusp at the left of the crown. The same obverse (Pl. 14, no. 5 obv.) is also found with a different reverse (Pl. 14, no. 5 rev.) which has no stops in the inner circle.

From this series it appears that the high crown die was used briefly before the presence of the mullet was obligatory. The same applied to five other obverses (Pl. 14, nos. 6, 7, 8=9, 10 and 11=12). The obverse no. 8 was used both with a Richard II reverse (Pl. 14, no. 8 rev.) (as noted by Potter⁶) and also with a new reverse (Pl. 14, no. 9 rev.). The coins at Pl. 14, nos. 11 and 12 may well be struck from the same pair of dies in different states of wear; they are both included to illustrate the problems met when attempting to match the dies. Hence, there are seven possible obverse dies being used to strike what may qualify as additional Henry IV halfgroats. This addition brings the new ratio

Acknowledgements: Thanks are due to the British Museum for permission to use photographs of items in the National Collection, to Dr D. Bateson of the Hunterian Museum, to Dr M. Blackburn of the Fitzwilliam Museum and to Mr M. Sharp of Messrs. A.H. Baldwin and Sons for provision of photographs.

¹ E. Harris, 'Die Pairing on the Transitional Coins of Henry IV and Henry V', *BNJ* 67 (1997), 20–30. Owing to an oversight of mine in proof reading, I did not substitute st for the + symbol following DON in the reading for halfgroat no.

54 on p. 28. There is a slipped trefoil, not a cross, after the letters.

² W.J. Potter, 'The Silver Coinages of Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V. Part II: Henry IV, Part III: Henry V', *BNJ* 30 (1960–61), 124–50.

³ Harris, as in n. 1.

⁴ W.J. Potter, 'The Silver Coinages of Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V. [Part] I. Richard II', *BNJ* 29 (1958–9), 334–52.

⁵ Harris, as in n. 1, no. 73.

⁶ Potter, as in n. 2.

between dies for halves and groats before the mullet to 10:11 and removes the disparity between the respective numbers of groat and halfgroat dies in this transitional period. Evidence that the die-sinkers were hard pressed at this time is provided by the repeated use of the letter O with swollen side on the reverses of a mullet-modified light coinage penny⁷ and on a halfpenny described before in a brief note.⁸ It is important to emphasise that many of the coins are so worn or encrusted that the mark is not easily perceived. Of the twenty-six high crown halves in the Reigate (II) hoard, only a quarter were in a 'fine' state; most of these can however be seen to bear the mullet mark.

The details of the high crown halves without and with mullet were extensively noted by Mr D. Greenhalgh in a regrettably unpublished collation of data on halfgroats. Here I have confined illustration and detail, with one exception, to striking which apparently have no mullet. These show a surprising variety of detail in their design. They differ in the marks left of the crown, which may be an annulet below the tressure fleur (Pl. 14, nos. 6=7, 11=12), or (Pl. 14, nos. 4=5, 8=9, 10) an annulet replacing the fleur at the left of the crown band. These variants are coupled with the presence or absence of fleurs above the crown band, and with the king's bust having different lengths of neck and shape of face (either U- or V-outline) and the number of tressure arcs

being eleven or twelve. It appears that the die-sinker or sinkers had no set pattern to reproduce. Several of the possible combinations are known only by one example, and few (two to five) are recorded for most others, though doubtless more exist in collections. The obverses are accompanied by variants of reverse having different stops and abbreviations in their legends, of which I have listed only the eight on the mullet-less specimens. Following Greenhalgh's information the number of different obverse dies when the mullet mark is included in the count is fourteen or fifteen and the number of reverses is nearly thirty.

There is no comparable confusion amongst the common stereotyped 'Smiling Bust' groats with mullet on the right breast though, as documented by Brooke⁹ and Potter,¹⁰ there are changes in certain letters, some of which are merely due to breakage. It is relevant to remark that groats of this Henry V period catalogued as without mullet (for instance Norweb sale lot 1352) show as much trace of a mullet as many of the coins which I have rejected from this survey of possible mullet-less halves. The mullet is on an outstanding feature and so is exposed to wear.

Table 1 lists the variable features on the high crown coins so far as I could see them. The description of the many varieties of the coins having the mullet mark is a topic still outstanding.

TABLE 1. Details of the high crown obverses apparently without mullet

<i>Length of Neck (mm)</i>	<i>Position of annulet at l. of crown</i>	<i>Fleurs over crown</i>	<i>No. of arcs face</i>	<i>Shape of Pl.</i>	<i>No. on</i>
1.4	on cusp	no	12	V	8 & 9
1.4	on fleur	no	11	U	11 & 12
1.2	on fleur	no	11	U	6 & 7
1.0	on cusp	yes	11	V	10
1.0	on cusp	yes	12	U	4 & 5

Reverses: only Pl. 14, no. 9 has an initial cross. Where double saltire stops have been visible they are shown;

on several examples only a lower saltire can be seen, so the presence of a second saltire is in doubt.

POSVI* IDeVm* AlDIVTORIexmeVm	CIVITAS LONDON	3&4
POSVI+IDeVm+AlDIVTOIRE*meV	CIVITAS LONDON	5
POSVI+IDeVm+AlDIVTOIRE*meV*	CIVITAS* LONDON*	6
POSVI+IDeVm+AlDIVTOIRE*me*	CIVITAS* LONDON	7
POSVI+IDeV* AlDIVTORIexmex	CIVITAS* LONDON*	8
+POSVI+IDeVm* AlDIVTORIem*meV	CIVITAS LO/DOZ	9
POSVI+IDeVm* AlDIVTOIRE*me	CIVITAS* LONDON*	10
POSVI+IDeVm? AlDIVTORIexme	CIVITAS* LONDON	11&12

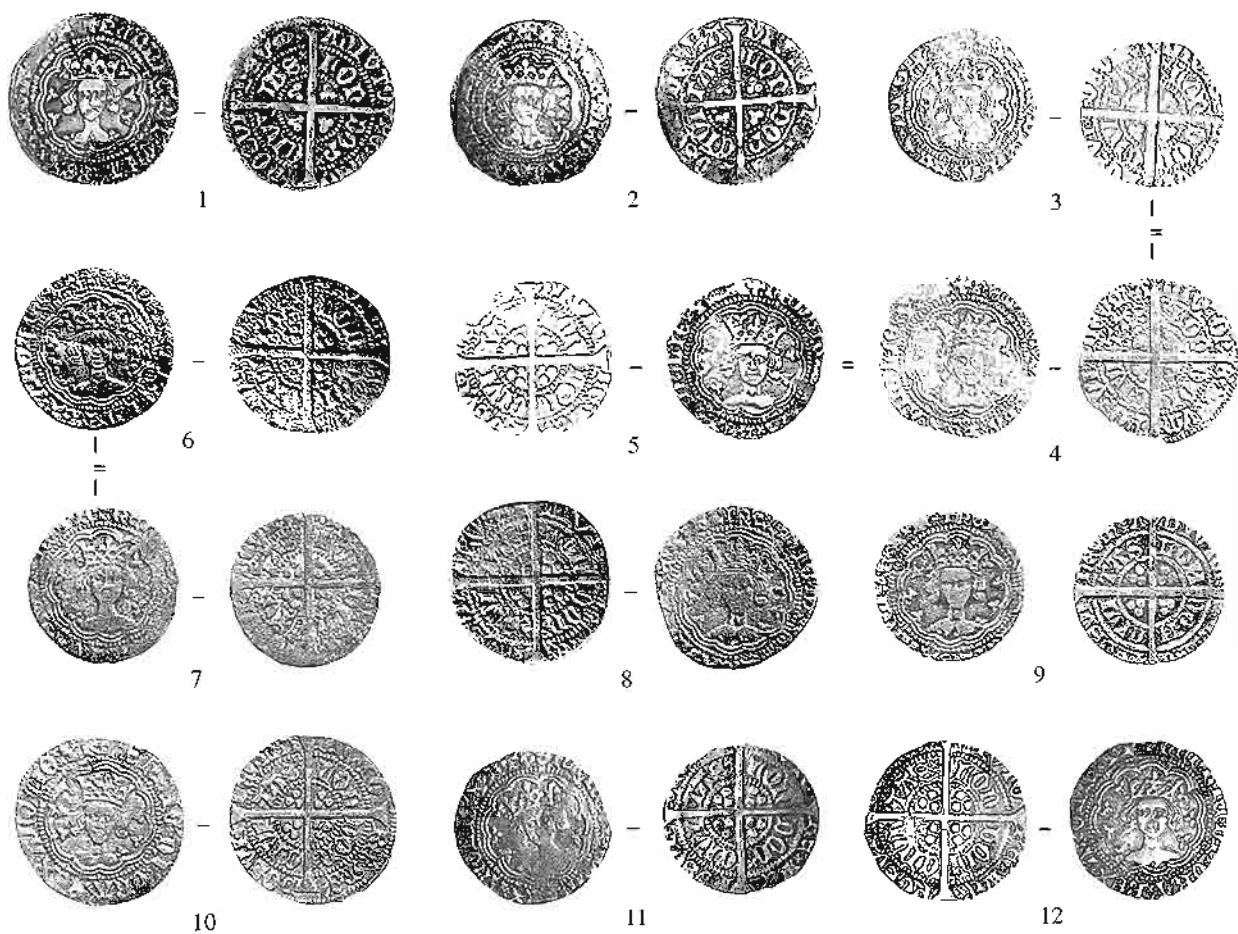
⁷ Harris, as in n. 1, no. 72.

⁸ E.J. Harris, 'The Repeated Use of a Faulty Punch on Some Henry V Dies', *SCMB* 850 (May 1990), 107-08.

⁹ G.C. Brooke, 'Privy Marks in the Reign of Henry V', *NC* 5th series 10 (1930), 44-87.

¹⁰ Potter, as in n. 2.

PLATE 14



HARRIS: HALF-GROATS

THREE NOTES ON THE TUDOR MINT

C.E. CHALLIS

1. Robert and Richard Harry Yonge

IN the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the moneyers in the Tower of London were organised as a Fellowship or Company under the leadership of their senior man, the provost. It was the moneyers themselves rather than the Crown who appointed him, by election, and it was he who presided over Moneyers' Hall where they met to dine and administer their affairs,¹ according to their rules and orders. These are known to us through the version 'newly written and set forth' in 1578, when Thoms Denham, a London goldsmith, was provost.²

Because they worked as sub-contractors to the master-worker the accounts which the moneyers drew up with him form no part of the official mint accounts audited by the Exchequer and it is for this reason, coupled with the absence of any records from Moneyers' Hall (if any such records were indeed ever kept on a systematic basis), that so little is known about the moneyers and their provosts. The senior of the two men who form the subject of this note, Robert Harry Yonge, died in 1500 leaving to his son Richard twelve silver spoons and a maser, and the same to both his son William and his daughter Joan Butler. He also bequeathed 20s. to his apprentice, John Cole, presumably the man of the same name who is known to have worked as a moneyer in the Tower from c.1515 to 1518.³ Precisely when Robert became provost is unclear, as is the date when he joined the mint, but it is possible that his arrival was in or before 1462 because on 1 December in that year a man of the same name and of the same parish, Hoxton in St Leonard's Shoreditch, Middlesex, coiner, was given the goods, chattels and due debts of John Browne, citizen and butcher of London.⁴ If this is so, the Robert Harry Yonge who is recorded in 1466 as the apprentice of John Amadas, citizen and goldsmith of London,⁵ could have been a relative and, indeed, it may even have been this second Robert who went on to become provost. Either way, Robert whose will is dated 2 May 1500 was

the son of John Harry Young (Heryong) also 'coiner' and of St Leonard's, Shoreditch. The first mention of him is in 1457, the second in 1464 in connection with the possession of a tenement and lands in Hoxton (to which Robert Harry Yonge was one of the witnesses) and the third in 1470 when he was given (with three others) all the goods, chattels and due debts of John Manne, citizen and butcher of London.⁶ Richard Harry Yonge is an altogether simpler figure, although once again it is not known when he was born or entered the mint. He was certainly provost by 1536 and continued in post until his death on 23 August 1545.⁷ It was during this period that the provost became one of those to whom instructions concerning the manufacture of coins, either indentures or commissions, were directed. The first naming Richard was the commission of 6 March 1536 for an issue of Irish coins. A second followed on 13 July 1540, and a third on 13 May 1544, both for Irish coin. Thereafter, his successor as provost, John Germyn, was mentioned in the instructions of 24 January and 12 April 1549 for English gold and silver coin and again in those of 18 December 1550 and 5 October 1551. Germyn's successor, John Monnes, appeared at first, intermittently, from 20 February 1553 until 5 August 1557, and then in successive orders up to and including that of 26 March 1561. From then until the end of the reign the provost of the moneyers was not one of those to whom the Crown addressed its instructions, save on 11 January 1601 when there was a commission ordering coins for the East India voyage, Thomas Denham then being provost.⁸ The explanation of this pattern of events is unknown.

Richard, also of Hoxton in St Leonard's, Shoreditch, bequeathed to his company 'after my months day be past' 20s. 'to pray for my soul and to make them merry withal' and a similar sum 'after my yeres mynde be past'.⁹ He was not childless, for his daughter, Alice, married Thomas Morowe (Marow), whom he named as one of his executors. The other was his wife Margaret who, so far as Stephen Vaughan, the king's agent in Antwerp, was concerned was clearly an attractive

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to Lord Stewartby and Dr Wendy Childs for their help and encouragement in the preparation of note 2 and to Mr Philip Whittemore and Mr Robert Thompson for their ready help with note 1.

¹ Thomas Thornteton's bequest to his son-in-law of his 'featherbed at the Tower' indicates that some sleeping accommodation was available to the moneyers close to their place of work but whether this was actually in the Hall is unclear. F.G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Wills of South-West Essex* (Waddeston, 1983), no. 367.

² C.E. Challis, 'Lord Hastings to the Great Silver Recoinage, 1464-1699', in *A New History of the Royal Mint* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 363; C.E. Challis, *The Tudor Coinage*

(Manchester, 1978), pp. 21-2; C.E. Challis, 'Mint Officials and moneyers of the Tudor period', *BNJ* 45 (1975), 73.

³ Public Record Office, London (PRO), Prob.11/12; Challis, 'Mint Officials', as in n. 2, pp. 73-74.

⁴ *Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1461-68*, 155.

⁵ I owe this reference to Mr Philip Whittemore.

⁶ *Survey of London*, VIII, St Leonard's Shoreditch, edited by Sir James Bird and P. Norman (1922), p. 81; *Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1461-68*, 258; 1468-76 no. 555.

⁷ Challis, 'Mint officials', as in n. 2, p. 74.

⁸ Challis, *The Tudor Coinage*, as in n. 2 appendix III.

⁹ PRO, Prob. 11/30, 34.

proposition. A widower with a large household and young children to care for, Vaughan had confided on 9 December 1544 to William Paget, principal secretary of state, that he was on the lookout for 'a sad, trusty, and womanly matron to look upon th'one and th'other', and requested that if any such came Paget's way 'he should keep her in store' for him. On Margaret Harry Yonge's bereavement such a person seemed to have come in view and, although he had never seen her, Vaughan lost no time in soliciting the help of Chancellor Thomas Wriothesley: 'seeing what occasions I have to marry, if she is such a wife as your lordship would counsel me to have, "then I would most humbly desire your Lordship to devise and take some way for me, without whose counsel I intend not to adventure upon so dangerous a matter"'. Writing to Paget on the same day, 13 September 1545 also from Antwerp, he opined that she had been 'left substantial', which he thought would be all the better because 'you [Paget] perceive what occasions I have to marry, seeing I leave my things in mine absence so rawly'. This marriage of convenience never materialized.¹⁰

Richard's death brought to an end the Harry Yonge association with the mint. His achievements and those of his father were commemorated, as were his wives, in an inscription on a monument in the church of St. Leonard, (Fig. 1), which, according to Stow, was dated 1545 and related to 'Richard and Harry Yong'. In his edition of Stow Strype gave the reading as:

Hereunder lieth Robert Hary Young, and Margery, his Wife; Richard Hary Young, his Son, and Elisabeth and Margaret, his Wives; some Time both Provosts of the King's Mint within the Tower of London: Which Richard Hary Young deceased the 23d Day of August, in the Year of our Lord God 1545, in the 36th Year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth. The rest scratched out.¹¹

The inscription, like the church (demolished 1735), has long since disappeared but the importance of Robert and Richard lives on, not as is sometimes said as former masters of the mint, but as sometime provosts of the moneyers, and thus as two of the most important directors of coin production in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

2. Thomas Wolsey and the experimental weight reduction of 1522-3

The alterations to the gold and silver coins of England which were carried through in 1526 were in essence no different from those which had occurred in the preceding centuries because they, like their predecessors, were intended to replace undervalued coins – vulnerable to hoarding, melting and export – with those in which the face and intrinsic values were properly aligned and, therefore, capable of circulating freely. Gold of 23c. 3½ gr. rose from £22 10s. per lb. Tower to £27 per lb. Troy and silver from 37s. 6d. Tower to 45s. Troy, a rise of one-eighth in each case. This alteration was entirely justifiable and served the country well down to the 1540s. It was accompanied by the introduction of an entirely new standard for gold, 22c. fine, which rated at £25 2s. 6d. per lb. gave the new crowns and their fractions a slightly higher gold content than the coins in the traditional standard. This in turn, as Feavearyear recognised long ago, made the new standard more attractive to suppliers than the old.¹²

It has been reasonably conjectured that the explanation of the introduction of this new gold fineness is to be found in the greater durability of 22c. gold, and it has been suggested also that the contemporaneous alteration to the weight of silver coins was securely based on the evidence of a trial production run between 1 June 1522 and 26 October 1523, during which 39s. 6d. rather than 37s. 6d. was cut from each lb. of silver. The effect had been dramatic: output which had averaged 176 lb. per month between 1 December 1521 and 30 May 1522 swiftly rose to 1160 lb. 10½ oz. in June, peaked at 2341 lb. in October and then fell back to average 638½ lb. per month from November 1522 to the end of September 1523. The lesson was clear: a higher mint price would bring in bullion but, if a real killing was to be made, 39s. 6d. per lb. Tower (the equivalent of a little over 42s. per lb. Troy), though encouraging, was not enough. In 1526 Wolsey and his advisors seized the bull by the horns, settled on a rise to 45s. per lb. Troy, and once again the mint sprang into life.¹³

The relationship between the experiment of 1522-23 and what happened in 1526 was made in the text of *The Tudor Coinage* but the details were not given in

¹⁰ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, edited by J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (21 vols London, 1862-1932) (LP). XX (2), nos 363-4; W.C. Richardson, *Stephen Vaughan, Financial Agent of Henry VIII* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1953), p. 21. That the Harry Yonges were respected and of standing is further supported by the binding of Richard with five others, each in the sum of 500 marks, for the bail of John Stokesley, bishop of London, who in 1538 stood accused of breaching the Statute of Praemunire. LP XIII (1), no. 1095.

¹¹ *Survey of London*, VIII, St Leonard's Shoreditch, p. 81; J. Stow, *Survey of London*, edited by J. Strype (1755), p. 51; J. Stow, *A Survey of London*, edited by C.L. Kingsford (Oxford,

1908), II, 75. Note: 23 August 36 Henry VIII is 23 August 1544, not 1545. That 1545 is indeed the correct date, however, is attested by the date of both Richard's will, 21 August 1545, and Vaughan's correspondence with Wriothesley and Paget, 13 September 1545. See also the wording given in H. Ellis, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Saint Leonard Shoreditch and Liberty of Norton Folgate in the suburbs of London* (1798), p. 54. Mr Whitmore tells me that a more schematic drawing of the monument, done for a herald's Visitation, is in the British Library, Lansdowne MS 874 fo. 67r.

¹² A.E. Feavearyear, *The Pound Sterling*, 2nd edition, edited by E. Victor Morgan (Oxford, 1963), pp. 48-50.

¹³ PRO. E101/298/35.

appendix III, where the values of successive issues were listed. Nor was this remedied in *A New History of the Royal Mint*.¹⁴ As Lord Stewartby has pointed out, with his usual tact and charm, this does leave (if unintentionally) the numismatist at something of a disadvantage. To remedy this the principal details of the text relating to the trial are now rendered in English from the original Latin, as follows:

26 October 1523

The other assay of silver made the same day and year aforesaid in the presence of the aforesaid Lord Cardinal and others of the king's council: that is to say, by the viewing of silver money made and coined in the Tower aforesaid, in the time aforesaid, i.e. between 1 June 1522 and 26 October 1523.

Before 1 June 1522, i.e. 31 May 1522, the king, considering the scarcity of money and bullion of sterling silver within the time lately elapsed and that less was brought in than was formerly the case, and wishing that a mass of bullion should be brought in for the good and profit of the same.

And to the intent that whosoever of his subjects or other persons, having a disposition to bring in bullion, by the advice of his council, had determined that each person bringing bullion into the country should henceforth obtain a greater profit than they were accustomed to obtain, i.e. on each lb. 2s. or 2d. per oz., by the authority of the council through a certain warrant subscribed under the sign manual, 31 May 1522, commanding amongst other things John Copynger, warden of the Tower, and William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, master-worker, and Henry Wyatt, comptroller, that all bullion from 30 [sic. but recte] June 1522 shall, during the pleasure of the king, be coined at the standard purity and at 39s. 6d. per lb. Tower.

And the pyx [i.e. the box in which the money was placed] having been opened there was found in the same 18 sinchiaie [i.e. leather bags] coined according to the weight aforesaid, containing £7. 16s. in groats and half-groats selected out of 14,886 lb. 5½ oz of silver paid out of the mint between 1 June 1522 and 26 October 1523.

Of the groats and half-groats taken from all the sinchiaie and intermingled an assay was made and it was found that 39s. 6d. agreed with the Tower standard weight. And as to the alloy, they took from the aforesaid groats and half-groats five ounces for the fire assay, that is to say by the pound subtle after the coins had been cut, as is customary at the fire assay, and it was found that the money was good and legal.

And it was ordered by the Lord Cardinal and the other councillors, on behalf of the king, that the warden

and master-worker should not in future coin or make any other silver by virtue of the king's mandate according to the weight aforesaid.

And the residue of the £7. 16s in groats and half-groats found in the pyx was melted down.¹⁵

3. Revisions to and amplifications of 'Mint officials and moneyers of the Tudor period', *BNJ* 45 (1975), 51–76

Since the publication of this list the names of a handful of officials and moneyers have emerged and it has been possible, largely through the study of testamentary records, to define more closely the careers of a few others. The abbreviations and conventions used here conform to those in the original article, with the exception of BM which is now rendered BL.

Mint officials of the Tudor period

Berkeley, Sir William (d 1485)
master-worker, Tower, 17 Sept. 1485
17 Sept. – 2 Nov. 485

(*A New History of the Royal Mint*, edited by C.E. Challis (Cambridge, 1992), p. 180)

Welshe (Walsh), Hugh (d 1532), goldsmith of London

deputy to master-worker (W. Blount)
Dec. 1530–June 1532

(J.D. Alsop, 'The Mint dispute, 1530–32', *BNJ* 51 (1981), 197–9; Challis, *A New History*, p. 182)

Moneyers of the Tudor period

Austin, Richard, the elder (d 1592), of Shoreditch (Middlesex)

moneyer, Tower
c. 1571–1592

(BL. Harleian Ms.698 fos 55v–56r, 89v; *Survey of London*, viii, St. Leonard's Shoreditch, p. 66; GL. 7499/1; PRO. Prob. 11/79)

Bryan, John – see Smith, John

Cole, John

apprentice moneyer to Robert Harry Yonge, Tower

1500

presumably the man of the same name who is mentioned as a moneyer c. 1515–18

(*BNJ* 45 (1975), 73; PRO. Prob. 11/12)

Cornewe, Thomas, of Walthamstow (Essex)

moneyer, Tower

c. 1591–c. 1595

¹⁴ C.E. Challis, *The Tudor Coinage* (Manchester, 1978); C.E. Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint* (Cambridge, 1992).

¹⁵ PRO. E101/302/17 (*LP* IV, no. 2338 no. 6)

- (*Calendar of Deeds relating to Walthamstow, 1595 to 1890*, edited by S.J. Barns (Walthamstow Antiquarian Society, Official Publication, no. 11, 1923), 7; F.G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Wills of South-West Essex* (Waddeston, 1983), no. 280)
- Estfield, (alias Lucas, *d* 1590) Thomas, of Walthamstow (Essex)
moneyer, Tower
c. 1576–1590
(BL. Harleian Ms. 698 fos 55v–56r; GL. 9171/17 fo. 287; F.G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Wills of Essex Gentry & Merchants* (Chelmsford, 1978), p. 282)
- Garnett, Richard, of Walthamstow (Essex)
moneyer, Tower
1591
(Emmison, *Elizabethan Wills*, no. 280)
- Gibbs, Richard (*d* 1596), of West Ham (Essex)
moneyer, Tower
to 1596
(Emmison, *Elizabethan Life*, p. 143)
- Harry Yonge (Heryonges), Robert, son of John (*d* 1500), of Shoreditch (Middlesex)
moneyer, Tower
c. 1462–1500
provost of the moneyers
to 1500
(*CCR*, 1461–68, 155; *BNJ* 45 (1975), 74; *PRO. Prob.* 11/12; *Survey of London*, viii, St. Leonard's Shoreditch, p. 98)
- Hayen, John (? John Hayne, see below) moneyer, Tower
1540
(*LP xv* no. 63)
- Hayne, John (*d* 1558), of Shoreditch (Middlesex)
moneyer, Tower
to 1558
(GL. 9051/1 fo. 229)
- Heynes, Hugh (*d* 1561), of Shoreditch (Middlesex)
moneyer, Tower
to 1561
he had an apprentice, Nycholas
(GL. 9051/2 fo. 297v)
- Lucas, Thomas – see Estfield
- Marsh, William (*d* 1559), of West Ham (Essex)
moneyer, Tower
to 1559
(Emmison, *Elizabethan Life*, p. 148)
- Permyn, John
moneyer, Tower
1540
(*LP xv* no. 63)
- Pye, John (*d* 1576), of Stepney (Middlesex)
moneyer, Tower
c. 1559 to c. 1576
(GL. 9171/16 fo. 281v; BL. Harleian Ms 698 fos 55v–56r; GL. 7499/1)
- Smith, John (alias Bryan, *d* 1571), of Hackney (Middlesex)
moneyer, Tower
to 1571
(GL. 9171/16 fo. 62v)
- Thornton, Thomas (*d* 1598), of Walthamstow (Essex)
moneyer, Tower
c. 1576–1598
(Barns, as above (Cornewe), p. 7; BL. Harleian Ms 698 fos 55v–56r; GL. 9171/19 fo. 55v)
- White, William (*d* 1574), of Hackney (Middlesex)
moneyer, Tower
to 1574
(GL. 9171/16 fo. 153)

TWO UNRECORDED FINDS

DAVID SYMONS

Unprovenanced, 1987 or before

IN the summer of 1987 Format Coins of Birmingham acquired a group of twenty-five coins of Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I.¹ They were made available to the writer to examine at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, where they were also photographed and weighed.² The coins had been bought from a dealer at

the Birmingham Rag Market and there was, unfortunately, no information on their provenance. It nevertheless seems clear that they comprise all or part of a Civil War period hoard. The date range – 1575 to 1644/5 – and the composition are both typical of the smaller hoards of this period, although coins of Elizabeth are perhaps under-represented, suggesting that we may be dealing with a parcel rather than a

¹ I am grateful to Mr G. Chaman of Format Coins for his willing assistance in the preparation of this note.

² By my colleagues Mr D. Bailey and Mrs J. Selwood respectively.

complete hoard. All the coins of Charles I are Tower Mint issues, no Royalist coinages being represented. On the available evidence a date of deposition of c. 1645 seems likely. The hoard contains twelve half-crowns, ten shillings and three sixpences with a face value of £2 1s. 6d.

The figures in brackets after the weights of the individual coins show these as a proportion of the theoretical standards – 3.11g for the Elizabethan sixpence and 3.01g, 6.02g and 15.05g for the sixpences, shillings and half-crowns of James I and Charles I. What are striking are the comparatively high weights of the half-crowns, which average 98.6 per cent of the standard. If no. 5, the earliest (and, at 13.92g, the lightest) is excluded,³ then the other eleven specimens actually average 99.2 per cent of the standard.

CATALOGUE

Elizabeth I

Sixpence

1. Eglantine, 1575. 2.195g (70.6%). 290°. North 1977.

James I

Shillings

2. Lis, 1604–5. 5.690g (94.5%). 25°. North 2073.
3. Rose, 1605–6. 5.710g (94.9%). 190°. North 2100.

Sixpence

4. Thistle, 1604. 2.841g (94.9%). 190°. North 2075.

Charles I

(Titles read MAG·BRI·FRA·ET·HIB·REX· unless otherwise noted).

Half-crowns

5. Portcullis, 1633–4. 13.920g (92.5%). 230°. (BR·FR·ET·HI). North 2207.
6. Bell, 1634–5. 14.413g (95.8%). 275°. (BR·FR·ET·HI). North 2209.
7. Crown, 1635–6. 14.626g (97.2%). 230°. Pierced. Reverse legend begins and ends with ·· (FR·ET·HI·). North 2209.

8. Tun, 1636–8. 15.368g (102.1%). 265°. (MA·BR·FR·ET·HI·). North 2209.
9. Triangle, 1639–40. 14.960g (99.4%). 275°. (BRIT·FRA·ET·HIB·REX). North 2212.
10. Triangle, 1639–40. 14.969g (99.5%). 330°. Reverse legend ends with ·· (BRIT·FRA). North 2212.
11. Triangle-in-circle, 1641–3. 15.322g (101.8%). 10°. (HI·REX). North 2214.
12. Triangle-in-circle, 1641–3. 15.137g (100.6%). 325°. North 2214.
13. (P), 1643–4. 14.815g (98.5%). 95°. North 2213.
14. (R), 1644–5. 14.842g (98.6%). 300°. Reverse double struck, reads AAVSPICE. North 2213.
15. (R), 1644–5. 15.060g (100.1%). 70°. North 2213.
16. I.m. uncertain, but Group IV, 1640–44. 14.642g (97.3%). 285°. North 2214.

Shillings

17. Crown, 1635–6. 5.833g (96.9%). 50°. Reverse double struck. (MA·BR·FR·ET·HI·REX·). North 2225.
18. Crown, 1635–6. 5.670g (94.2%). 180°. Reverse legend begins and ends with ·· (MA·BR·FR·ET·HI·). North 2225.
19. Tun, 1636–8. 5.634g (93.6%). 275°. (MA·BR·FR·ET·HI·REX). North 2225.
20. Tun, 1636–8. 5.638g (93.7%). 45°. (Titles as no. 19). North 2225.
21. Triangle, 1639–40. 5.804g (96.4%). 255°. (REX). North 2231.
22. Star, 1640–1. 5.864g (97.4%). 270°. (HI·REX). North 2231.
23. Triangle-in-circle, 1641–3. 5.571g (92.5%). 60°. (HI·). North 2231.
24. (P), 1643–4. 5.967g (99.1%). 135°. North 2232.

Sixpence

25. Crown, 1635–6. 2.818g (93.6%). 45°. Reverse double struck. (MA·BR·FR·). North 2241.

“Yorkshire Moors”, 1990

The three coins described were shown at Format Coins in 1991.⁴ They had supposedly been found in the previous year by a family walking on the Yorkshire Moors. Specifically, one of the children was said to have kicked aside a stone and so revealed the coins. The name of the find-spot could not be remembered properly, but was thought to be ‘Kilversley’ or similar; unfortunately I have not been able to identify such a

³ This coin seems to have been struck light rather than to owe its low weight to excessive wear or clipping.

⁴ I am once again grateful to Mr Charman, in this case for

providing me with a colour polaroid photograph of the coins and for noting their weights and die axes.

place. The complete hoard was said to have consisted of eight coins 'all of the same types' and this, together with the full flans and relatively unworn condition of the three coins that have been recorded, suggests that the hoard probably contained only coins of Elizabeth I. Unfortunately all that can be said for certain about the date of deposition is that the hoard has a *terminus post quem* of 1573, although it seems unlikely that it can have been very much later than that. Again the figures in brackets show the weights as percentages of the theoretical standards (3.11g for the sixpences and 6.22g for the shilling).

CATALOGUE

Elizabeth I

Shilling

1. Lis, 1558–60. 6.2g (99.7%). 135°. North 1985.

Sixpences

2. Coronet, 1568. 3.0g (96.5%). 350°. North 1997.
3. Acorn, 1573. 2.9g (93.2%). 225°. North 1997.

THE 1996 BROUGHTON (OXON) COIN HOARD

N.J. MAYHEW AND E.M. BESLY

IN December 1996 Mr Keith Westcott, a metal-detector user searching with the permission of the land owner, Lord Saye and Sele, discovered a small hoard of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century coins near Broughton Castle, north Oxfordshire (O.S. grid ref. SP 419381). Sixteen coins were found over a number of days, though all were located within an area about 1.5 metres square; there was no trace of any container. Mr Westcott immediately informed Lord Saye, who promptly contacted the Ashmolean Museum. The find was declared Treasure Trove at a coroner's inquest at Oxford in December 1997: the last such to be held in Oxfordshire under the old common law. The coins were acquired by the Ashmolean Museum through the Department for Culture, Media & Sport early the following year. The hoard constitutes a fairly typical group ranging from Mary to Charles I, with the addition of three large coins of Philip IV of Spain, struck in the Spanish Netherlands (Pl. 13, 14–16). The coins may be listed as follows:

1. Mary I, groat, extremely worn. North 1960.¹ 1.14g.
2. Elizabeth I, sixpence, privy mark (p.m.) Plain Cross; dated 1578. N. 1997. 2.74g.
3. Elizabeth I, sixpence, p.m. Tun; dated 1593. N. 2014. 2.84g.
4. Elizabeth I, threepence, extremely worn. p.m. unknown; dated 156[-]. N. 1998. 0.80g.
5. Elizabeth I, threepence, extremely worn. p.m. Castle; dated [157]1. N. 1998. 0.84g.
6. James I, shilling, Second coinage, p.m. Grapes? (1607). N. 2100. 5.64g.
7. James I, sixpence, First coinage, p.m. thistle; dated 1604. N. 2075. 2.70g.
8. Charles I, shilling, p.m. Crown (1635–6/7). SCBI 33, 498–502.² 5.28g.
9. Charles I, shilling, p.m. Tun (1636/7–8). SCBI 33, 506–12. 6.08g.
10. Charles I, shilling, p.m. Anchor (1638–9), obv. flukes left. SCBI 33, 517–21. 5.84g.
11. Charles I, shilling, p.m. Triangle-in-circle (1641–3), SCBI 33, 549–50 (but HI). 5.80g.
12. Charles I, shilling, p.m. unknown, but probably Rose or Feathers, 1630–2. Double struck. SCBI 33, 447–52 or 459–63. 4.88g.
13. Charles I, shilling, p.m. unknown, but on the reverse a suggestion of an anchor, which would accord with the cross ends. SCBI 33, 517–21, 523–9. 6.03g.
14. Philip IV of Spain, for the Spanish Netherlands, patagon, Arras mint; dated 1629. Delmonte 298.³ Enno van Gelder & Hoc 329–7.⁴ 27.98g.
15. Philip IV, half-patagon, Tournai mint; dated 1623. Delmonte 308. Enno van Gelder & Hoc 330–9. 12.90g.
16. Philip IV, half-ducaton, Antwerp mint; dated 1633. Delmonte 279. Enno van Gelder & Hoc 328–1a. 16.24g.

Numbers 3 and 12 were discovered after the rest and brought to the Ashmolean by Mr Westcott early in January 1997, and number 9 was brought to the Museum separately by Lord Saye.

The latest firmly datable coin is no. 11, struck sometime between 1641 and 1643. The triangle-in-circle

¹ J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage* Vol. 2, 3rd Edition (1991). Hereafter N.

² J. J. North and P. J. Preston-Morley, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 33: The John G. Brooker Collection; Coins of Charles I (1625–1649)* (1984).

³ A. Delmonte, *Le Benelux d'Argent* (Amsterdam, 1967).

⁴ H. Enno van Gelder and M. Hoc, *Les Monnaies des Pays-Bas Bourguignons et Espagnols 1434–1713* (Amsterdam, 1960).

issue was of course struck in very large quantities, and the presence of only a single example may indicate that the hoard was concealed earlier rather than later in its period of issue, but there are various other factors which should also be taken into account. Most obviously, the location of the find, within sight of Broughton Castle, which was surrendered to the royalists very shortly after the battle of Edgehill in October 1642, strongly argues for a date of deposit connected with these early military manoeuvres. However, the presence of three large denomination coins from the Spanish Netherlands (nos 14 to 16) in a British hoard is also worthy of comment, and may be of some relevance to the question of the hoard's date. English kings have always attempted to exclude foreign coins from circulation in their territory. A small proportion of intruders have sometimes penetrated the English money supply and won informal acceptance, but for the most part it was English (and Scots and Irish) money which circulated in England and Wales. Certainly, when compared with the currency of mainland Europe, England was far more completely served by its own money than other countries. For this reason, the fact that the three most valuable coins in this hoard were foreign, comprising just over half its total face value, is of special interest.

In March 1644 the royalist government in Oxford issued a proclamation making various foreign coins legal tender in England and Wales at specific values.⁵ This proclamation enables us to set a sterling face value on the foreign coins in the Broughton hoard. The patagon, known as a cross dollar, was rated at 4s. 6d., and the ducaton at 5s. 6d. Valuing the halves *pro rata* gives a total value of 9s. 6d. for the foreign element, and for the whole hoard of 18s. 10d. The need to make such a proclamation also suggests that foreign coins may have been playing a greater role in England than normal, as a result of the disruption caused by the war. A consideration of the other hoards known from this period with a foreign element will help to put this question in context.

Foreign coins have been found in only a small minority of the coin hoards from Charles I's reign. Mostly, these comprise issues from Spain or the Spanish Netherlands. Ignoring hoards containing small numbers of worn reals and half-reals, long since assimilated into the currency, the current evidence is

summarised in Table 1.⁶ There are two gold coins, of which the half-rijder is of interest both as a fraction of a type validated by the 1644 proclamation and for its find spot, Newark. Eight hoards, five of them found since 1980, contained patagons and/or ducatoons. Three are from Yorkshire, two from the Newark area and one each from Devon, Lancashire and Oxfordshire. To these may be added one each from Devon and Lancashire and two Yorkshire finds containing unspecified 'dollars' or similar. Is a pattern beginning to emerge?

Because Civil War hoards are so numerous compared with those from the decades either side, it is hard to say whether the appearance of these continental coins in hoards is specific to the war years, though no certainly pre-war hoard from Charles I's reign contains them. Spanish and Portuguese coins were, for instance, a familiar sight in the Exeter of the 1630s: the city had strong trading links with the Iberian countries.⁷ Continental silver was no doubt similarly familiar in east coast ports. However, there are very few records of single finds of Spanish Netherlands silver coins from England or Wales, which might perhaps be expected were they a regular part of the currency.⁸ We know, too, that the royalists acquired consignments of foreign silver, probably through their continental fund-raising: Thomas Bushell is recorded exchanging 'dollars' at Shrewsbury – presumably at the outset, while the Earl of Newcastle was sent 'a little barrel of ducatoons', amounting to £500 sterling, probably late in 1642.⁹

On 22 February 1643 Queen Henrietta Maria landed at Bridlington in Yorkshire, bringing substantial supplies garnered during her year-long stay on the continent. She proceeded to York (6 March), staying there until late May, before heading south to a reunion with the King on the field of Edgehill on 13 July. The meeting and the coincident victory at Roundway Down, near Devizes, were commemorated on the 'Kineton' medal by Rawlins, of which the apparently unique survivor is in the British Museum. Her itinerary took in Doncaster, Newark (16 June – 3 July), Ashby, King's Norton, Walsall and Stratford-on-Avon;¹⁰ and on 13 July the royal couple spent the night at Wroxton, which lies approximately 3½ km/2¼ miles north of Broughton, before moving on to Oxford.¹¹

⁵ British Library 1851, b3 (37); E. Besly, *Coins and Medals of the English Civil War* (1990), pp. 70–3.

⁶ References in the first column are to the Inventory in E. Besly, *English Civil War Coin Hoards* (1987), pp. 76ff. Caution: B.J. Cook, 'Four Seventeenth Century Treasure Troves', *BNJ* 60 (1990), at pp. 91–6; Middleham: C. Barclay, 'A Civil War hoard from Middleham, North Yorkshire', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 84–98. One further hoard, unprovenanced (perhaps Kent) and buried 1645 or later, included two eight-reales (Mexico and Potosi) of Philip IV, three patagons and a half-rijksdaalder (H5: 'Mr Binney's').

⁷ J.N. Brushfield, 'The financial diary of a citizen of Exeter, 1631–41', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 33 (1901), 187–269, at p. 198.

⁸ A quarter-patagon was found in Norfolk in 1997 (*BNJ* 67, Coin Register 1997, no. 243); a ducaton of Philip IV reported to E.B. in 1998 from the 'Yorkshire Dales' may be of 1639 or 1659; its date is unclear on the scanned image seen.

⁹ G.C. Boon, *Cardiganshire Silver and the Aberystwyth Mint in Peace and War* (Cardiff, 1981), pp. 84, 272; Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle* . . . edited by C.H. Firth (1886), p. 22.

¹⁰ S.R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War 1642–1649* (1894 edition), Vol. I, pp. 94–5, 160–5; A. Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, 4th Edition, Vol. V (1851), pp. 301–3; E. Hamilton, *Henrietta Maria* (1976), p. 196.

¹¹ R. Marshall, *Henrietta Maria: the Intrepid Queen* (1990), p. 109.

TABLE 1. English Civil War hoards containing European Coins

				<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Latest coins</i>	<i>P</i>	$\frac{1}{2}P$	$\frac{1}{4}P$	<i>D</i>	$\frac{1}{2}D$	<i>Other</i>
B2	Newark, Balderton Gate	Notts	1961	97+		£61-0-0d+	Triangle?/Eye?						Zeeland: 1/2-rijder, 1
D-	Broughton	Oxon.	1996		15	£0-18-10d	T.-in-C.	1	1			1	
D19	Newark, Crankley Point	Notts.	1957	17	466	£31-19-4d	T.-in-C.	2	1	2			
D21	Painswick	Gloucs.	1941	34	8	£22-15-10d	T.-in-C.						Philip II, Filipsdaalder 1586, 1
E2	Breckenbrough	N. Yorks.	1985	30	1552	£93-5-0d	(P)/York 2	1		1	7	3	Liège: teston, 1
E3	Barton	Lancs.	1967		5	£0-10-3d	'1643-4'			2			
E-	Caunton	Notts.	1988		1571	£62-14-9d	(P)/1643	8	2	16	2	1	Zeeland: rijksdaalder, 1
E13	Pocklington	Yorks ER	1849		161+	£17-6-6d+	(P)/York 3						Philip IV 'dollars', 9
E17	Sowerby	W. Yorks.	1818	22		£11-18-6d	(P)						Brabant: double Albertin, 1
F5	Buckfastleigh	Devon	1932		36	£2-2-9d	Exeter 1644				1	1	
H/J-	Middleham A	N. Yorks	1993		1263	£74-17-8½d	Sun	2			45	6	Philip IV, 8-reales, 2
	Middleham B	N. Yorks	1993		2220	£146-7-9½d	Sun	1			141	8	
	Middleham C	N. Yorks	1993		1616	£91-8-11d	Sceptre				37	5	
J2	East Worlington	Devon	1895		5188	£242-18-10d	Sceptre						'Spanish dollar c. 1630'
J6	Whittingham	Lancs.	1853		301	£15?	Sceptre						'Spanish coins'
J7	Wyke, Bradford	Yorks	1982		1048	£38-13-8d+	Sceptre				1		Campan: Arends-shelling, 1
K22	Preston (Fulwood)	Lancs.	1812		+	?	'Charles I'						Philip IV 'a crown piece'
K45	Newby Wiske	N. Yorks	1858		270	?	'Charles I'						Philip IV 'dollars'

Finds with worn half- and 1-reals are omitted. P: patagons D: ducats



BESLY: TREGWYNT CIVIL WAR HOARD (3)



MAYHEW AND BESLY: BROUGHTON HOARD

How much money the Queen was bringing is not known, though the Venetian ambassador believed her to have large sums; but there is, *prima facie*, a remarkable coincidence between her route, the time spent at York and Newark, and the distribution and broad dates of the hoards containing coins from the Spanish Netherlands.¹² Future finds may, of course, modify the picture, but it appears to us that disbursements en route by the Queen's entourage might have provided the mechanism whereby some at least of these foreign

coins went into local circulation in royalist-held areas. This observation does not in itself date the Broughton hoard for us, but it allows for a third possibility: that the coins may have been deposited in or after July 1643, nine months or more after Edgehill and the capture of Broughton Castle. In spite of its small size, this find raises interesting questions regarding the interpretation of coin hoards, even in well-documented historical periods, and underlines the need for caution in associating them with specific historical events.

CROMWELL COIN TOOLS IN THE ROYAL MINT MUSEUM

MARVIN LESSEN

IN 1973 Graham Dyer arranged for photographs of the Cromwell coin dies and punches in the Royal Mint Museum. The task was sponsored at the time by Mr Collin Southern, and the photography was by Mr H.T. Mozley, Senior Photographer at the Royal Mint. This paper presents those photographs, generally in the same order (by denomination) as Hocking used to catalogue the tools in 1910,¹ with a concordance to the resultant coins as listed in papers by this writer.² Die photographs are reversed, and the side-view sketches, made by the author in 1970, are only of approximate full size. Tools 12–15 and 31–36 are shown both full size and double size; 16–30 and M are full size. Punch M is 103 mm high.

The Cromwell tools were never officially retained by the Mint, and remained in Simon's possession. In the introduction to this section of his catalogue, Hocking stated that in 1700 Isaac Newton, Master of the Mint, purchased ten puncheons (including the one for a medal) and nine dies, all of which were at the time assumed to be by Simon, and then he went on to describe which they were, the ones he considered Simon's, the ones of doubtful origin, and the remainder he attributed to Tanner. An earlier work by Hocking was more explicit, quoting the minutes of a Board

meeting of 9 November 1700, and it is reproduced here from his article: 'The Master reported that he had bought, according to the direction of the Board, 10 puncheons and 9 dies graven by Mr Simonds famous graver in the time of Ol. Cromwell for 14 guineas. Mr Croker, Ingraver of the Mint, chose out of them to pair 2 puncheons, one a head and the other an armes for crown pieces, two puncheons being a head and armes for sixpences, and two dies being a head and armes for 2^{li} pieces of gold, giving his receipt, and the rest were locked up in the Treasury'.³ Whetmore was unable to find any reference to the subject in the Board Minutes of the Royal Mint from 23 March 1699 to 26 February 1701. However, he did find in Newton's Warden's account for 25 December 1700, 'To Eliz Winter for old Puncheons and Dyes of Symonds Work for our Gravers to copy after £15.1.0'.⁴ Nothing has been found in the published volumes of Newton's correspondence.⁵

The trail from Simon to Newton is a rocky one. In 1665 Simon (1618–1665) willed his tools to nephew William (dates unknown), only if he served an apprenticeship as an engraver, else they were to revert to his son, Samuel (1653–?) who would already inherit the medals, patterns, waxes, paintings, and so on. Daughter Ann (1659–?) married Mr Hibbert in 1674.

¹² The two apparently exceptional areas are Devon and Lancashire; but only two of the five hoards in question are securely dated (Buckfastleigh, 1644+; East Worlington, 1647+; both therefore 'late' in this context) and only one (Buckfastleigh) certainly contains ducats/patagons [information on this find from John Allan].

Acknowledgements are to Graham Dyer, who provided the inputs and critical review to this paper, and to Hugh Pagan for his research into Marlow, the jeweller.

¹ W.J. Hocking, *Catalogue of the Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies, and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint*, vol. II – *Dies, Medals and Seals*, 1910, pages 4–6, catalogue numbers 12–36.

² M. Lessen, 'A listing of Cromwell coin types', *BNJ* 66 (1996), 120, and 'Summary of the Cromwell coinage', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 163–72.

³ W.J. Hocking, 'Simon's dies in the Royal Mint Museum', *NC* 1909, 98–116. His tool descriptions here were more extensive than his later summary for the Royal Mint catalogue. The Board minutes were probably from what is now identified as PRO MINT 1/7, p. 20. Craig has only a sentence on this from the 1701 Warden's Accounts, and states that the purchase cost £5 and the purpose was as models for training, J. Craig, *Newton at the Mint*, Cambridge, 1946, 37.

⁴ S.A.H. Whetmore, 'Some further notes on Thomas Simon', *BNJ* 30 (1960), 172–3. The Warden's account volume for 25 December 1699 to 25 December 1700 (MINT 19/4) only came into the Mint's possession with the acquisition of the Newton Papers in 1936, long after Hocking. These are now in the PRO.

⁵ J.F. Scott, *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, vol. iv, 1694–1709, Cambridge, 1967, even though this volume is very Mint-oriented.

and their daughter, Frances, married Samuel Barker (the Barker, Raymond, Lamb family lines for the warrants and sketches); and there was another daughter Elizabeth (1657-?). Wife Elizabeth (c. 1616-1696), who remarried in 1669 to Mathew Poole, was the executrix of Thomas's will, and the dominant force in getting long overdue payments from the Treasury for the work detailed in his 1665 account. An oft-quoted Vertue notebook extract, perhaps written c. 1725, implies that Mr Marlow, a jeweller of Lombard St, told Vertue directly that in 1676 he bought from the widow of Simon all the tools etc. that had been willed to the son.⁶ Was this Marlow really alive a half century later to tell this to Vertue?⁷ Were William and/or Samuel dead by 1676, or just disinterested? How did Elizabeth Winter in 1700 relate to Mr Marlow in 1676? This would not be Simon's daughter Elizabeth, who probably did not live past her teens. Marlow, if the story is true, should not be considered a family member, and he most likely bought the material for commercial purposes. And when did these tools get to 'Holland' and return with the new dies between 1676 and 1700? Could someone like Marlow have contracted with a Dutch, or even a local, medallist to loan him the Simon punches in order to prepare new dies and strike some coins as a business venture originating from London? Less well known is the 4 December 1751 auction by John Heath of the Stephen Wells (seal

engraver) holdings that included many working tools, of which lot 10 was 24 boxes 'of old Simon's the famous engraver in Oliver and Charles II time', and several subsequent lots may also have been Simon tools. Letter punches must have made up a portion of the tools. Any further trace of these tools is lacking.

In the event the Hocking and Lessen references have errors: the broad (twenty shillings) punch 12 did not create the die, and it could be a spare or rejected tool; the halfcrown reverse punch 25 only created the 1656 die, not that of 1658; the Simon crown dies 18 and 19 of course are not matrices;⁸ items 22 and 30 were also described by Hocking as matrices, but are more likely unfinished dies; the Dutch crown remains uncertain and its dies are not present; the sixpence reverse punch 32 may be a reject of Simon's (Graham Dyer certainly feels that its shape and form are those of Simon's), for it did not create the Simon sixpence and, if used for Tanner's 1656 halfbroad (ten shillings), then that die 36 had to have been re-worked after punching. For Dutch reverse shilling die 30, Graham Dyer states that in shape and form it looks like a tool of the eighteenth century, and so it does and is unlike the other Dutch dies (or Tanner's), but Hocking lists it with the 1700 purchase so it will have to remain an anomaly.

The original nineteen Newton purchases are denoted in the following table with an * after the Hocking number. It is interesting to see that all of the hand-carved tools (punches) listed are undoubtedly by Simon.

Hocking No. ¹	Type	Lessen Coin Nos. ²	Tool	Discussion	Illustration
12*	Twenty shillings	—	Bust punch	By Simon, but it did not make the twenty shilling die.	(pl. 15, 12)
13*	Ten shillings	B5-B7 C8-C9 D10-D11	Bust punch	By Simon. Cracked punch is ringed to provide strength during its eighteenth-century use.	(pl. 15, 13)

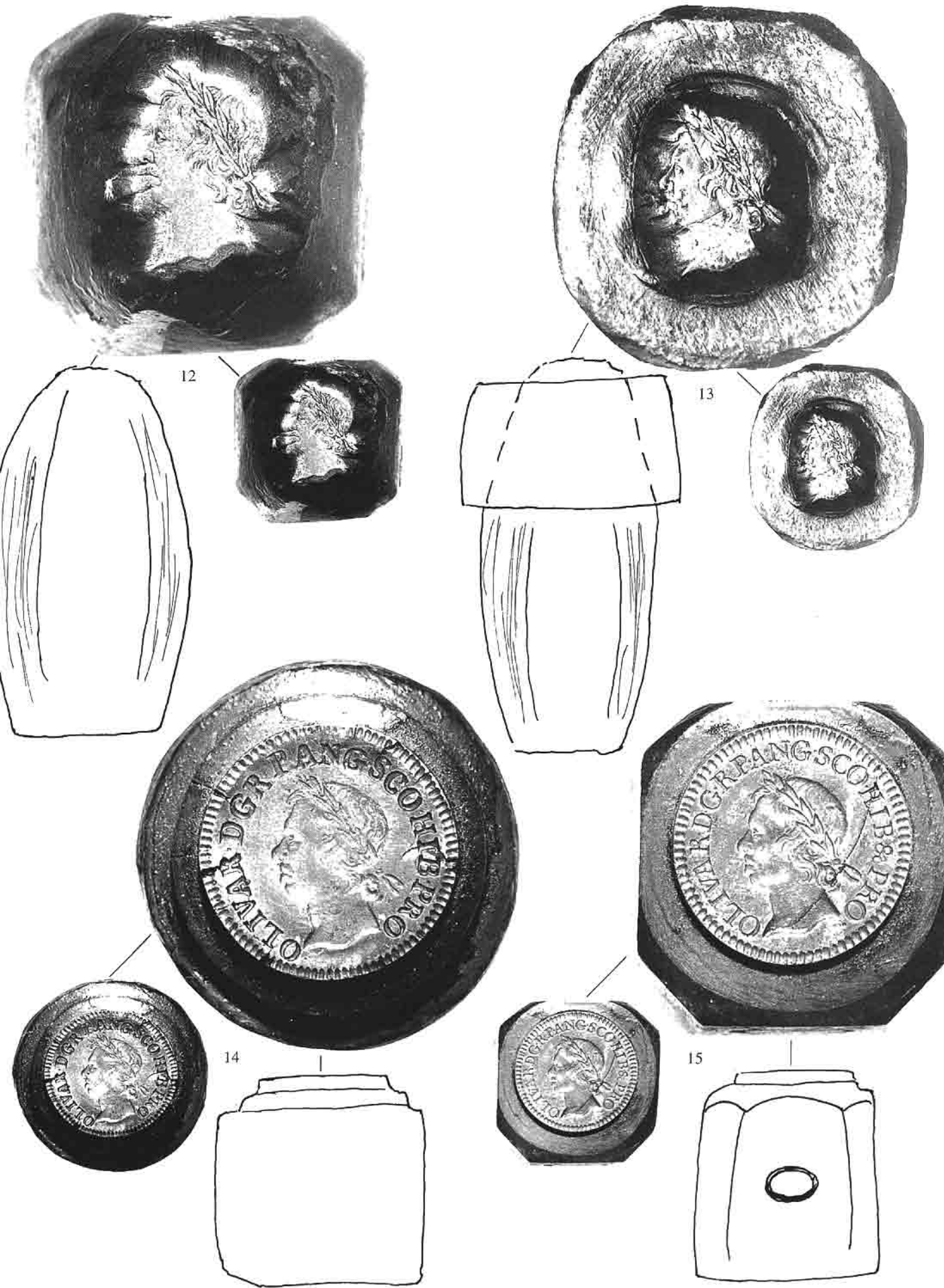
⁶ Transcribed from one of Vertue's notebooks (V.105, B.M. 78b) in *Walpole Society*, vol. 20 (1932). Vertue II, 90: 'of Thomas Simons, Engraver of Coins & Seals - says M^r Marlow, Jeweller of Lombard Street - that in the year. 1676. he then bought of the Widow of Simons (who was then remarried to M^r [Poole] a dissenting Parson) all the tools stamps punchions wax impressions &. that did belong to M^r Simons which he left and appointed by Will to be preserv'd together. for the Use of his Son if he livd, and should follow the proffession of his Father. but as he was of weak understanding when he grew up. and not fit for such an employment he was otherways provided for. and these things sold - amongst which are many punchions for the figures heads &. of the broad Seals. Medals coins Letters &. that Simons always made use of and actually made punchions. for every purpose being extreame ready at it. and liked that way much better than Cutting inwards with tools or gravers as most others do. Nay at that Time livd. Martin Johnson a Seal Cutter. whose workes in Seals are very good and he did Cutt heads of persons in steel seals very well. but was an opposite

temper or practice. for he wou'd not make nor use any punchions. but cutt all with tools inwards. was so averse to Simons that he would say of him. that he was a puncher. not a Graver -' A summary of this is also found in Whetmore, p. 172, and Helen Farquhar, 'Thomas Simon. "One of our chief gravers"', *NC* 1932, 305, where the name was read for her at the time as Mr Martin, not Marlow.

⁷ Apparently so. From the periodical 'The Political State of Great Britain', vol. XI (1730), 228, is a death notice among those for the month of August 1730, stating 'on the 29th. died Mr Joseph Marlow, many years a Goldsmith in Lombard Street.' Hugh Pagan found this, is confident that this is Vertue's Marlow, and goes on to note that the fact that he is described as a *goldsmith*, rather than as a *jeweller*, could well mean that although his trade was that of a jeweller he was a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, as Simon was. A pity that Marlow's age is not given, for this is 54 years after 1676.

⁸ P.P. Gaspar, 'Simon's Cromwell crown dies in the Royal Mint Museum and Blondeau's method for the production of lettered edges', *BNJ* 46 (1977), 55-63.

<i>Hocking No.¹</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Lessen Coin Nos.²</i>	<i>Tool</i>	<i>Discussion</i>	<i>Illustration</i>
14*	Ten shillings	B5–B7 D10–D11	Obverse die	Dutch. From Simon punch 13.	(pl. 15, 14)
15	Ten shillings	C8–C9	Obverse die	By Tanner. From Simon punch 13.	(pl. 15, 15)
16*	Crown	E12–E13 G22–Ga24a. maybe F16–F17	Bust punch	By Simon.	(pl. 16, 16)
17*	Crown	E12–E13 G22–Ga24a. maybe F16–F17	Arms punch	By Simon.	(pl. 16, 17)
18*	Crown	E12–E13 Ga24	Obverse die	By Simon. From Simon punch 16.	(pl. 16, 18)
19*	Crown	E12–E13 Ga24a	Reverse die	By Simon. From Simon punch 17.	(pl. 16, 19)
20	Crown	G22–G23 Ga24a	Obverse die	By Tanner. From Simon punch 16.	(pl. 17, 20)
21	Crown	G22–G23 Ga24	Reverse die	By Tanner. From Simon punch 17.	(pl. 17, 21)
22	Crown	–	Obverse die	By Tanner. Unfinished. From Simon punch 16.	(pl. 17, 22)
23	Crown	–	Obverse die	By Tanner. Unfinished. From Simon punch 16.	(pl. 17, 23)
24	Crown	–	Reverse die	By Tanner. Unfinished. From Simon punch 17.	(pl. 17, 24)
25*	Halfercrown	H25	Arms punch	By Simon.	(pl. 18, 25)
26*	Shilling	J28–J29 K34–K38	Bust punch	By Simon.	(pl. 18, 26)
27*	Shilling	J28–J29 K34–K38	Arms punch	By Simon.	(pl. 18, 27)
28*	Shilling	K34–K38	Obverse die	Dutch. From Simon punch 26.	(pl. 18, 28)
29*	Shilling	K34–K38	Reverse die	Dutch. From Simon punch 27.	(pl. 18, 29)
30*	Shilling	–	Reverse die	Probably Dutch. Unfinished. From Simon punch 27.	(pl. 18, 30)
31*	Sixpence	L39–L40 M41–M42	Bust punch	By Simon.	(pl. 19, 31)
32*	Sixpence	M41–M42 B5–B7	Arms punch	By Simon, probably.	(pl. 20, 32)

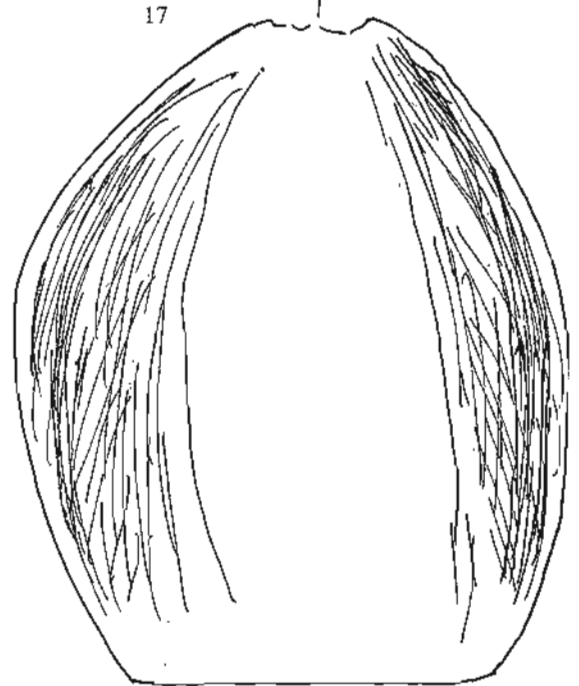




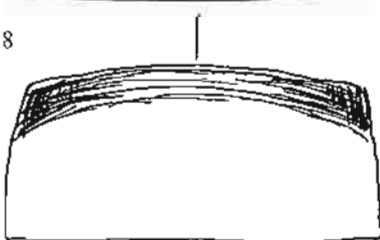
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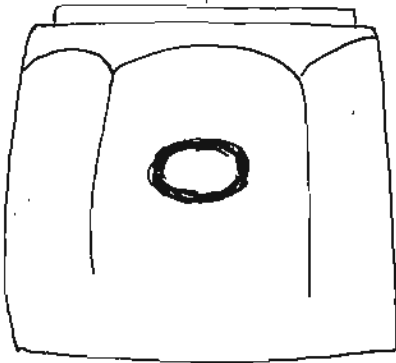


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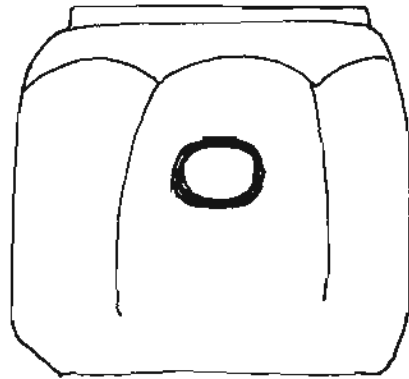




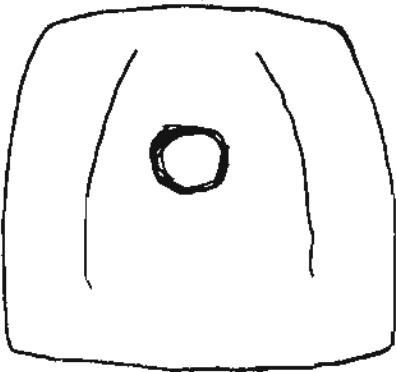
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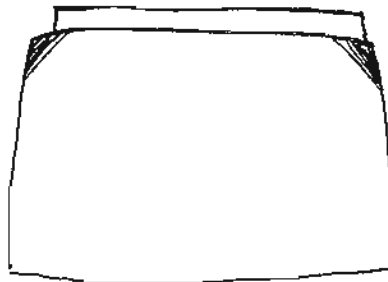
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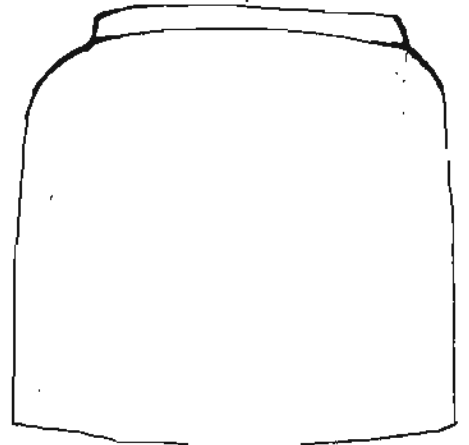
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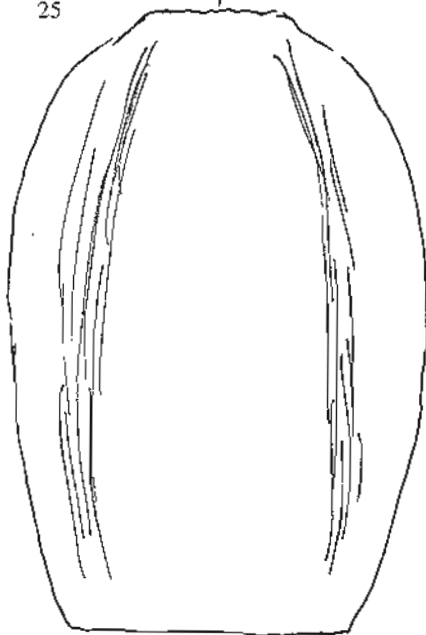


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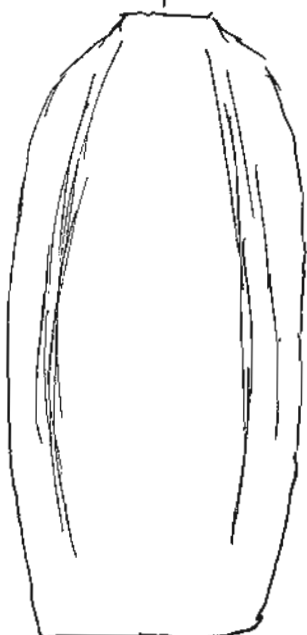




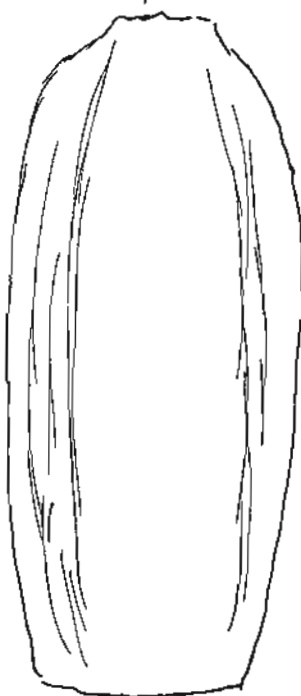
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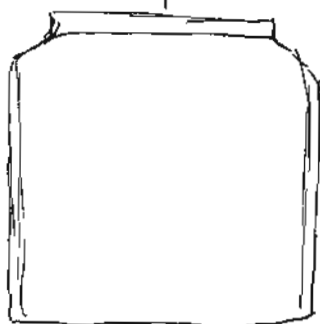
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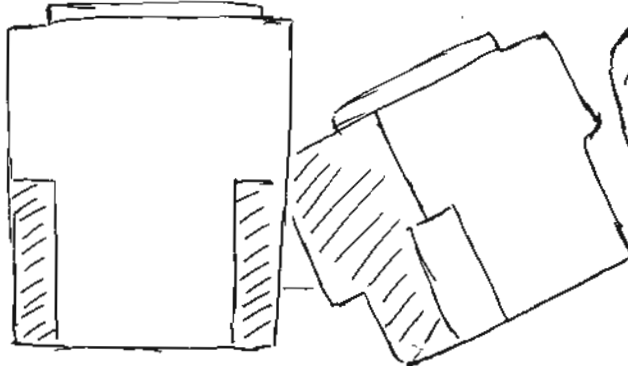
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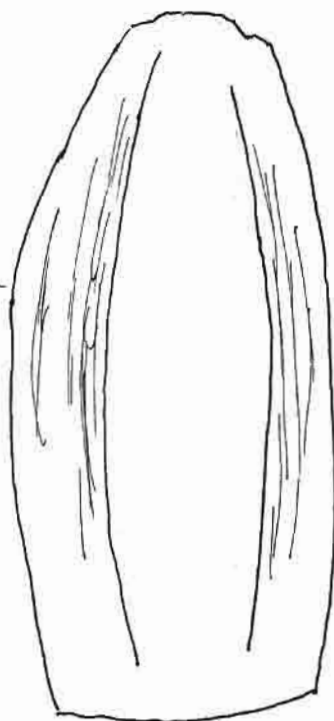


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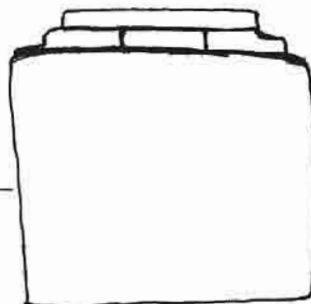
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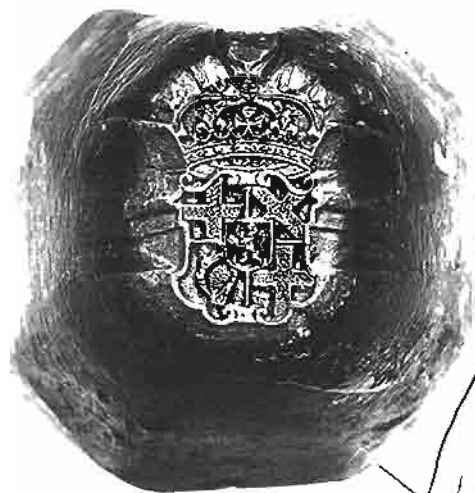


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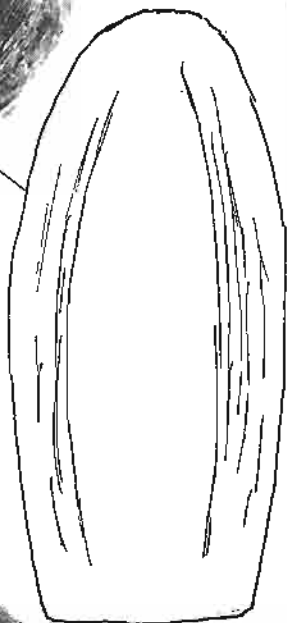


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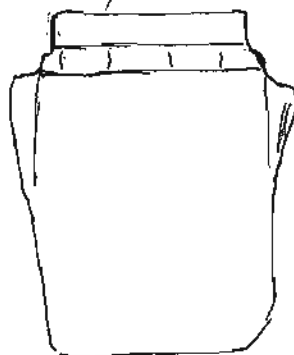




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35



36



<i>Hocking No.¹</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Lessen Coin Nos.²</i>	<i>Tool</i>	<i>Discussion</i>	<i>Illustration</i>
33*	Sixpence	M41-M42	Obverse die	Dutch. From Simon punch 31.	(pl. 19, 33)
34*	Ten shillings (sixpence)	B5-B7	Reverse die	Dutch 1658 ten shillings. (Hocking listed it as a sixpence die). From punch 32.	(pl. 20, 34)
35*	Sixpence	M41-M42	Reverse die	Dutch 1658. From punch 32.	(pl. 20, 35)
36	Ten shillings (sixpence)	C8-C9 D10-D11	Reverse die	By Tanner. 1656 ten shillings. (Hocking listed it as a sixpence die). From punch 32?	(pl. 20, 36)
M*	Medal	—	Bust punch	By Simon.	(pl. 19, M)

This further tool, M, from the purchased group, is mentioned but not listed by Hocking (although he does discuss it in his *NC* 1909 paper, page 106, as high relief punch (D) having a resemblance to the bust on the Dutch funeral medal). It is a rusty bust punch by Simon, but its use is unclear, partly owing to its condition. It might be the punch used for the Cromwell/Fairfax medal, *Medallic Illustrations* 411/48, where the description claims that the medal bust is also that used for the great seal, but it is not; this one is much larger. The MI 411/48 medal itself is an anomaly, and could well have been constructed in the eighteenth century from Simon punches.

Addendum: There are or were electrotypes of these tools. The William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles, has a manuscript on paper watermarked with the date of 1865 stating 'This case contains electrotyped casts, silvered, & varnished, of Oliver Cromwell's Dies they are deposited in the Royal Mint-cabinets, and it is believed they are the only specimens of his Money Dies extant.' Then it lists and describes all 26 tools, checking off 14 of them to 'shew the plaster casts in existence.' In addition there was 'The unfinished Punch of a Unit, or Broad of Charles the First, also by Simon.' This manuscript must be English, but there is nothing to trace it further.

THE ST. PATRICK COINAGE OF CHARLES II

MICHAEL SHARP

THERE has been debate about this coinage for some time. The obverse designs pose little problem. On the halfpence, St. Patrick is shown wearing mitre and robes, holding a crozier in one hand and a small cross (or is it a shamrock?) in the other and standing before 'the multitude'. On the farthings, he is shown similarly attired but holding a long cross in one hand whilst the other is extended to show the departure of the snakes he reputedly cleared from Ireland: a (the established?) church is shown behind.

There has, however, been much contention regarding the reverse design. I suggest the harp is the Irish harp (its human front and general form are as used on the coinage

up to and including that of George IV), the figure playing it to represent Charles I, bearded and wearing an open (martyr's) crown, the large crown above being the temporal crown he once wore and the legend, *Floreat Rex*. 'May the king flourish (in heaven)'.

Many medallic memorials were struck to commemorate Charles I after the Restoration and the late king's memory was further preserved by the legend, *CAROLUS A CAROLO*, on the English copper coinage, a theme possibly echoed by the interlinked Cs on the reverses of the silver. I think, therefore, it reasonable to suggest the St. Patrick coinage to have been a memorial one.

COIN REGISTER 1998

EDITED BY EDWARD BESLY

THE Coin Register is an annual listing, to which anyone having single finds to report from Britain or Ireland may contribute. Any Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Norman or Plantagenet coin will be eligible down to and including the 'Tealby' type of Henry II, but entries for Roman coins and for later medieval and modern coins will be restricted to those coins which are of particular numismatic merit. The essential criterion for inclusion will be that the coin is new, by virtue of either being newly found or (if previously discovered) being hitherto unpublished. Single finds from excavation sites may be included, if it seems that there would otherwise be considerable delay in publication.

The listing of Celtic coins in the Coin Register is carried out in association with the Celtic Coin Index at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford. Celtic material should therefore be sent in the first instance to Cathy King, c/o the Institute of Archaeology, 36 Beaumont Street, Oxford OX1 2PG. Other material should be sent to: R. Abdy, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, WC1B 3DG. Potential contributors may contact either of the above or the Editor of *BNJ* with any queries about how to submit and set out material.

E.M.B.

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Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
CCI	Celtic Coin Index
M/d	Metal-detector

Authorities cited

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Celtic coins

Note: as in previous years, large numbers of Celtic coins were again reported during 1998. The list that

follows is therefore selective, concentrating on the publication and discussion of rare and new types.

1. British, stater, class JA, VA 610-1, *BMCIA* 212 (CCI 98.1313).

Weight: 6.11g.

Ely, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find.

The small object to the right of the wheel, above the wolf's tail, is more clearly a bird on this coin than on most examples.

P. de J.

2. British, stater, class LB, VA 1487-1, *BMCIA* 331 (CCI 98.1871).

Weight: 5.61g.

Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk. M/d find.

P. de J.

3. British, stater, class LB, VA 1493-1, *BMCIA* 338 (CCI 98.1889).

Weight: 5.50g.

King's Lynn, Norfolk. M/d find.

P. de J.

4. British, quarter stater, class G, VA 1460-1, *BMCIA* 180 (CCI 98.1318).

Weight: 1.43g.

Maldon, Essex. M/d find, 1997.

The first example to show the full quatrefoil motif on the obverse.

P. de J.

5. British, quarter stater, class LY3, VA 158-1, *BMCIA* 371 (CCI 98.1172).

Weight: 1.4g.

Wingham, Kent. M/d find, 1998.

D.J.H.

6. British, quarter stater, class LY4, VA 170-1, *BMCIA* 2475 (CCI 98.1156).

Weight: 1.3g.

Boughton Monchelsea, Kent. M/d find, 1997.

D.J.H.

7. British, quarter stater, class ND, VA 628-1 var., *BMCIA* 3437 var. (CCI 98.2165).

Weight: 1.08g.

Fincham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

Variant with a small five-pointed star above the horse, rather than the open crescent or trefoil noted on most examples.

J.A.D.

8. British, quarter stater, class PA, VA 147-1 var., *BMCIA* 435 (CCI 98.1891).

Weight: 1.38g.

North-west Kent. M/d find.

The reverse bears more intricate decoration than is usually the case.

P. de J.

9. British, quarter stater, class QC, VA 232-1 var., *BMCIA* 538 var. (CCI 98.2144).

Weight: 1.11g.

Chichester, West Sussex. M/d find.

P. de J.

10. British, quarter stater, class RB, VA 1010-3, *BMCIA* 2942 (CCI 98.1558).

Weight: 1.03g.

Alcester, Warwickshire. M/d find, 1997.

P.J.W.

11. British, quarter stater, new type (CCI 98.1564).

Obv. wreath crossed by spike, two open crescents connected by u-shape and 'cloak' below, stylized locks of hair above, in typical British QC form.

Rev. horse r., bifurcated inner rear leg, line leading to pellet in ring motif from horse's chest; apparently a single strand tail; seven-spoked wheel below; stylized arms of charioteer above, each ending in large pellet.

Weight: 1.35g.

Inkberrow, Worcestershire. M/d find, 1998.

This quarter stater seems to represent an attempt to copy the usual British Q stater reverse design, notably the arms of the charioteer above the horse. Given the unusually northern provenance it may be a local imitation of the Atrebatian type.

P.J.W./P. de J.

12. British, quarter stater, new type (CCI 98.1143).

Obv. wreath crossed by spike, pellet in cogwheel at lower end; two open crescents connected by u-shape below, to the right, and regular 'cloak' to the left; stylized locks of hair above the wreath.

Rev. horse l., pronounced groove on chest, triple strand tail; ring in cogwheel below, pellet in cogwheel in pellet ring above.

Weight: 1.17g.

Chieveley, Berkshire. M/d find; information from Paul Cannon.

The coin presents elements of both north and south Thames types: the groove on the horse's chest is very much a north Thames feature, while the triple tail is usually, though not exclusively, associated with south Thames productions. It may perhaps be a local production, reflecting the interplay of influences at the northern edge of the Atrebatian territory.

P. de J.

13. British, quarter stater, new type (CCI 98.2190).

Obv. wreath crossed by spike, two open crescents and 'cloak' below, stylized locks of hair above, in typical British QC form.

Rev. horse r., bifurcated inner rear leg, line leading presumably to pellet in ring protruding from horse's chest; tail has at least two strands. Wheel above and below horse, pellet in ring behind rear legs.

Weight: 1.26g.

Bidford on Avon, Warwickshire. M/d find, 1998.

The type is perhaps closest to VA 224 (*BMCIA* 498), but lacks the wheel on the obverse; the reverse is also

rather simpler, lacking the pellet bosses around the upper wheel.

P. de J./D.J.S.

14. British, quarter stater, new type (CCI 98.2156).

Obv. pellet in ring at midpoint of wreath, with four stylized locks of hair above and three crescents below; the middle crescent with lines extending from the each corner, enclosing two pellet in ring motifs.

Rev. horse r., with pronounced groove on chest; beaded mane; winged object similar to that on Whaddon Chase staters above, pellet in cogwheel below.

Weight: 1.14g.

Earls Colne, near, Essex. M/d find.

The style of the coin, in particular the horse and the winged motif, and the provenance suggest a north Thames origin for this type. Other examples are known from Bletchley in Buckinghamshire and Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire.

P. de J.

15. British, silver unit, class LX11, VA 1555-1, *BMCIA* 387 (CCI 98.2169).

Weight: 1.08g.

Fincham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

Two others are known: the British Museum coin, found at Icklingham in Suffolk in 1857, and a poor example from the 1962 excavations at Harlow Temple, Essex. This coin is from the same pair of dies as the Icklingham coin. The type has affinities with the early face/horse series attributed to the Iceni, particularly in the extravagant decoration associated with the head, and the horse and surrounding motifs, notably the leaf-like object below.

P. de J./J.A.D.

16. 'Cantii', silver unit of ?Vosenos, VA 186-1 (CCI 98.1416).

Rev. [VODI]INO[S]

Weight: 0.60g (broken).

Chilham, Kent. M/d find by Mr D. Villanueva, 1995.

The second recorded example of this type, the only other excavated in St Margaret's Street, Canterbury in 1953 (*SCBI* 42, pl. 6.183). The two coins are from different pairs of dies. Only a small part of the problematic reverse legend is visible on this fragment; the N is retrograde.

P. de J.

17. 'Atrebatian', silver half-unit, new type (CCI 98.2031).

Obv. stylized wreath represented by three strands of pellets, ring within ring at centre; to each side a torc-like motif facing outwards, with pellet terminals curving inwards, the body of the torc corded; three rings within the U-shape of each torc; pellet at base of V-shape in each quarter.

Rev. horse r., plain mane and single strand tail; sunburst in front, pellet and pellet in ring below stomach, pellet below raised tail, ring and ?crescent above the horse's body.

Weight: 0.42g.

Tangmere, West Sussex. M/d find, 1998.

The type fits into the general tradition of early southern British silver, though there are few elements of the design which find obvious parallels elsewhere. The exception is the rump of the horse, formed by a near-perfect semicircle; this feature is found on a variety of British Q quarter stater, *BMCIA* 568, found predominantly in the south of Hampshire and West Sussex, although examples are also known from the Essendon hoard, Hertfordshire.

P. de J./C.R.

18. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Tasciovanus, new type (CCI 98.1025).

Obv. TAS in front of head r., large oval for eye, prominent lips. hair represented by oval pellets.

Rev. VIR (not visible here) above horse l., clear bridle.

Weight: 1.25g.

Compton, near. Berkshire. M/d find, 1998.

An example of this type, said to have been found in Bedford, was published by F. Purvey in *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, no. 734 (October 1979), p. 322. An attribution to Tasciovanus seems certain, with VIR indicating Verulamium. Two further examples have been recorded in the Celtic Coin Index during 1998, both from Winterbourne in Berkshire. The concentration of finds in Berkshire might suggest that the type was produced specifically for use there.

P. de J./C.R.

19. 'Dobunni', stater of Bodvoc, VA 1052-1, *BMCIA* 3135 (CCI 98.1364).

Obv. [B]ODVOC

Weight: 5.37g.

Knutsford, Cheshire. M/d find, 1998; information from N. Herepath and B. Shaw.

P. de J.

20. 'Dobunni', stater of Eisv, VA 1105-1, *BMCIA* 3039 (CCI 98.2187).

Rev. EISV

Weight: 5.36g.

Redditch, Worcestershire. M/d find.

D.J.S.

21. 'Iceni', silver unit, Bury B, *BMCIA* 3534 (CCI 98.2167).

Weight: 0.82g.

Warham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

22. 'Iceni', silver unit, early face/horse B, *BMCIA* 3555 (CCI 98.2269).

Weight not known.

Saham Toney, Norfolk. M/d find.

P. de J.

23. 'Iceni', silver unit, boar/horse A, VA 655-1, *BMCIA* 3445 (CCI 98.2266).

Weight not known.

Saham Toney, Norfolk. M/d find.

P. de J.

24. 'Corieltavi', stater, class C, VA 804-3, *BMCIA* 195 (CCI 98.1906).

Weight: 6.14g.

Kirmington, Lincolnshire. M/d find.

P. de J.

25. 'Corieltavi', quarter stater, scyphate type, cf. *BMCIA* 3189 (CCI 98.1296).

Weight: 1.45g.

Southwell, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, 1995.

P. de J.

26. 'Corieltavi', silver unit of LAT ISO, VA 998-1, *BMCIA* 3349 (CCI 98.0649).

Obv. [L]AT ISO[N]

Rev. [E]

Weight: 1.04g.

Shouldham, Norfolk. M/d find.

Inscription is retrograde. The reading of the final (i.e. leftmost) letter as an N is confirmed by another example, seen in trade.

P. de J./J.A.D.

27. 'Corieltavi', silver unit, new type (CCI 98.2251).

Obv. ?CAT CNAV in two lines, small portion of simple wreath placed vertically below the inscription.

Rev. AV[N] above open-mouthed horse l.; pellet below neck and above rump.

Weight: 0.9g.

Kirmond le Mire, Lincolnshire. M/d find.

The interpretation of the obverse inscription is difficult. The top line seems certain to read [.]AT, with what seems to be a C in front; there is space for further letters after CAT, though none are visible here. The lower line seems to begin with a C, but the following letters are blundered: a reversed N, followed by A and then a V. It is unclear in which direction this portion of the inscription should be read, or indeed whether it should even be read this way up. The reverse inscription is less problematic, apparently reading AVN; one might expect COST to be present below the horse, as found on a large number of Corieltavian staters, units, and half-units, but that part of the coin is entirely off the flan. Two similar, unprovenanced units are recorded in the Celtic Coin Index: the obverse legend on one is entirely blundered, while the other apparently reads CVTAS CNAVO, with the N reversed. The former has AVN on the reverse, and the latter what seems to be CNC retrograde above the horse, and CO below. CAT also occurs on a Corieltavian silver unit of very different style, coupling a boar and a horse (*BMCIA* 3352), and perhaps in another different form on the unit below (no. 28). The significance of these various inscriptions remains entirely unknown.

P. de J./C.R.

28. 'Corieltavi', silver unit, new type (CCI 98.2036).

Obv. plain.

Rev. ATT above horse r., A below; triangle of three pellets below horse's tail.

Weight: 0.84g.

Scampston, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 1998.

The interpretation of the legend again presents difficulties. There might be a letter or letters in front of ATT, above the horse, but that part of the coin is worn flat. The A below the horse might also be part of a longer word. The triangle of pellets below the right-facing horse recalls issues of VEP and VEP CORF, rather than the AVN COST issues apparently associated with no. 27, above.

P. de J.

Correction: the stater of VEP from North Warwickshire, published in *Coin Register* 1997, *BNJ* 67, no. 33, is not plated as originally indicated. Another example from the same reverse die, found at Brough, Humberside, was published in *Coin Register* 1990, *BNJ* 60, no. 123.

Roman coins

29. Plated copy of a silver denarius, mid second century AD.

Obv. IMP [CAE]SAR IRAIAN H-ADRIANVS A[V]G; head right, drapery on left shoulder

Rev. IR POT COS II; in exergue, CONCORD (the D intrudes into the surrounding legend); Concordia seated left, holding patera and resting left elbow on cornucopia.

Weight: 1.91g. Die-axis: 180°.

Wall, Staffordshire. M/d find by Mr S.M. Wood.

A counterfeit 'hybrid' struck from dies copying an obverse used by Hadrian AD 117-22 and a reverse of Aelius Caesar used in AD 137 (RIC 436).

D.J.S./A.B.

30. Plated copy of a silver denarius of Julia Domna, early third century AD.

Obv. IVLIA AVGVSTA

Rev. PIETAS AVGG

Weight: 3.08g. Die-axis: 180°.

Wyre Piddle, Worcestershire. M/d find by Mr D. Crawford, April 1998.

Copies a coin struck at Rome in AD 196-211.

D.J.S./A.B.

31. Carausius, silver 'denarius'.

Rev. []H[] []S[]; female figure (Salus?) standing left, holding sceptre in left hand

Weight: 0.75g (fragment). Die-axis: 0°.

Sheriff's Lench, Worcestershire. M/d find by Mr D. Crawford, winter 1997-8.

This coin generally resembles RIC 1093, a radiate. It could well be an imitation, as the weight seems very low. The straight edge appears to be accidental, and not the result of a deliberate cut.

D.J.S./A.B.

Merovingian Coins:

32. Gold tremissis, Gondemar II, King of the Burgundians (524-32), with the blundered name of Justinian I (527-65).

Obv. []S[]NNANVSPPAGA; diademed bust right

Rev. []ORIAAVGGGA[]; victory right, with star in field r. G in field l.

Weight: 1.41g (21.7gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Congham, Norfolk, site 25756. M/d find by Mr P. Wells, 1998.

G.W./J.A.D.

33. Gold tremissis, Marseille, quasi-imperial coin in the name of Maurice, c. 595-605.

Obv. DNMAVRI []IVBPPV; diademed, draped, cuirassed bust right.

Rev. VICAORI AVTOAV; cross on globe dividing [M] / A [V] / II within dotted circle (degenerate wreath); in lower margin, CONOB, flanked by strokes representing wreath ties depending from dotted circle.

Weight: 1.10g (17.0gr), pierced twice and bent. Die-axis: 315°.

Naunton, Gloucestershire. M/d find in September 1998 by Mr G. Petford.

Struck from same dies as Rigold, *NC* 6th ser., vol. 14 (1954), p. 128, no. 64, and pl. VIII.64.

D.J.S./A.B.

34. Base gold tremissis of Avitus II, bishop of Clermont Ferrand (Arvernus), c. AD 674-89, Prou 1716.

Obv. SESOALD; diademed bust r., with raised right hand.

Rev. AVITUSEBESCOBUS; circle inside legend defines field, with letters AR below horizontal straight line, above horizontal undulating line.

Weight: 1.26g (19.4gr), mounted as pendant. Die-axis: 0°.

Bawdsey, north of Felixstowe, Suffolk. M/d find from cliff fall while detecting on the beach, early 1998. Reported to Suffolk Archaeological Services and subsequently passed to the BM.

G.W./J.N.

35. Silver denier, uncertain mint and moneyer, c. 675-750.

Obv. A(curved line, or perhaps V (ligatured to A) N?)IO(D or P)(L or V); bust left.

Rev. []AUNIV(curved line = S on face?; the A is chevron-barred), perhaps for ACNIVS?; cross pattée with pellets in angles (one pellet not well struck up)

Weight: 1.02g (15.7gr).

Winchester, north of, Hampshire. M/d find, 1998. Information from Paul Murawski.

No useful parallels have been found in Belfort or Prou, and the coin for the present remains unidentified.

S.M./M.A.S.B.

36. Base silver penny, imitating the coinage of Chalon-sur-Saône.

Probably illiterate/semi-literate, mint uncertain.

Weight: 0.68g.

Old Buckenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

Apparently mounted as a button at a subsequent time.

G.W./J.A.D.

Shillings

37. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Eadbald of Kent (616–40), North 29, Sutherland 78.

Obv. AVDVA[RLD RE]GES; bust right.

Rev. + + INNBALLOIENVZI (NN ligatured, lozenge O); cross on globule within circle of pellets.

Weight: 1.27g (19.6gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Specific gravity: 15.66. Gold fineness: 72%.

Tangmere, West Sussex. 1997. Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (CM.2259–1997).

See Mark Blackburn, 'A New Coin of King Eadbald of Kent (616–40)', in Chris Rudd's List 34 (1998), pp. 2–4, and Gareth Williams, elsewhere in this volume.

M.A.S.B.

38. Gold thrymsa, Eadbald of Kent, North 29, Sutherland 77–78.

Obv. AVD[VARLDRE]GES; diademed bust right, cross on globe in front.

Rev. Blundered legend; cross on globe, within circle of pellets.

Weight: 1.28g (19.8gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Shorne, Kent. M/d find, Autumn 1998. Acquired by the BM. For fuller discussion, see Gareth Williams, 'The Gold Coinage of Eadbald, king of Kent (AD 616–40)', this volume.

G.W.

Sceattas

39. Sceat, pale gold, series Pa IIA, North 154, Pada.

Obv. Diademed bust right, TNC in front

Rev. PADA in runes on line in centre; pseudo-legend around

Weight: 1.2g. Die-axis: 0°.

Herne, Kent. M/d find by Mr R. Potter, December 1997.

D.J.H.

40. Sceat. Series A, type 2a, Rigold A2, North 40.

Weight: 1.12g (17.3gr), chipped, broken and repaired. Die-axis: 0°.

Pershire, Worcestershire. M/d find by Mr C. Leonard.

D.J.S./A.B.

41. Sceat. Series A, type 2a, Rigold A3, North 40. Kent, c. 680–700

Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr). Die-axis: 250°.

Badlingham Manor, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, September 1998. Information from Roy Whittaker.

Dies not illustrated in Rigold.

S.M.

42. Sceat. Series B, var. IA.

Weight: 1.3g (20.0gr).

Waldershare Park, near Dover, Kent. M/d find by Mr R. Newbury at Pure Gold Rally, 21 September 1997.

D.J.H.

43. Sceat, type 27b, Series BI, North 127.

Weight: 1.24g (19.1gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Kelling, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

44. Sceat, type 27b, Series BII, North 127.

Weight: 1.23g (19.0gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Burnham, Norfolk, site 18496. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

45. Sceat, Series B, type 27b, Rigold BI (? but different style of head and bird), North 127 (imitative). Kent?, c. 680–700?

Weight: 1.23g (19.0gr).

Linton, near, Cambridgeshire (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find, August 1991.

Dies not illustrated in Rigold. The style is odd and it may be an imitation. (On the reverse, the lower limb of the cross is shorter than the other three, and the coin combines the two pellets / two annulets around the cross of BIb with the additional pellets in front of the bird of BIa or BIII. On the obverse, the dotted line of the diadem continues behind the head and seems to pierce the inner circle.)

M.J.B./J.C.M./M.A.S.B./S.M.

46. Sceat, type 27b, Series B, North 127.

Weight: 1.12g (17.2gr).

Easingwold, North Yorkshire. M/d find before February 1998.

C.B./C.P.

47. Sceat, type 27b, Series B, North 127.

Weight: 1.33g (20.5gr).

Heslington, York. M/d find by S.G. Bradley before June 1998.

(Not illustrated.)

C.B./C.P.

48. Sceat, Series BII.

Weight: 0.59g, incomplete.

Needham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

49. Sceat, Series B (derivative), type 27b, variant of Rigold BIIIa. Kent?, c. 710–30

Obv. A regular scallop pattern around the outer circle instead of an inscription.

Weight: 1.12g (17.3gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Ely, near, Cambs., same site as BNJ 1976, p. 84, nos. 89–90 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially).

M/d find, September 1992.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

50. Sceat, Series B, type 27b, Rigold BIIIa. Kent?, c. 710–30

Weight: 1.24g (19.1gr). Die-axis: 0°.

West Stafford parish, Dorset. Found October 1998; reported by Mr M. J. Savage.

Obverse die quite similar but not identical to Rigold BIIIa 1.

S.M.

51. Sceat, Series C, BMC 2b

Obv. Radiate bust r., runic inscription in front. (L)ÆPA

Rev. Standard, containing TOT II

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr). Die-axis: 100°.

Sunninghill or Sunningdale, Berkshire. M/d find, mid 1990s, shown BM 24 November 1998.

A new example of a broader group of runic coins. Coins with runic inscriptions EPA, ÆPA and LEPA are already known. The first rune in this instance is partially off-flan, but is fairly clearly an L, giving the reading LÆPA. It would appear that all four inscriptions are variants of the same legend.

G.W.

52. Sceat, Series C, Metcalf R2, Blackburn D. Kent?, c. 705–10.

Obv. T epa (epa runic), crowned bust right with pyramidal neck and TTT (instead of expected TAT) behind head.

Rev. TT/o/II standard with fantail above and cross below, ITATI down sides.

Weight: 1.11g (17.1gr). Die-axis: 270°.

West Stafford parish, Dorset. Found October 1998; reported by Mr M. J. Savage.

S.M.

53. Sceat, Series C, Blackburn E. Kent?, c. 710–15?

Obv. T epa (epa runic), crowned bust right with pyramidal neck and IO8? (instead of expected OAO) behind head.

Rev. TT/o/II standard with (mostly off-flan) a cross on each side and a T from each corner.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Sutton Court Farm, Sutton, near Deal, Kent (TR 331 486). M/d find, September 1990 (during rally).

M.J.B./D.C./S.M.

54. Sceat, Series C, Blackburn E var. Kent?, c. 710–15?

Obv. T? epa (epa runic), crowned bust right with pyramidal neck and OAO behind head.

Rev. TT/o/II standard with a cross on each side and a curled projection (as in Blackburn class A–B, Metcalf C) from the top left corner (other corners are off-flan).

Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr). Die-axis: 90°.

'North Essex'. M/d find, April 1994.

The coin is closest to Blackburn class E, but instead of the hammer-shaped projections out from the corners of the standard on the reverse, this coin has curled projections like those seen in Blackburn classes A–B.

M.J.B./J.C.M./S.M.

55. Sceat, Series C, imitation, copying the obverse from Series A3 and reverse from Series C (Metcalf C2, Blackburn C). Kent?, c. 710?

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Merton Farm, near Canterbury, Kent. M/d find, September 1994, during the South of England M/d Rally.

Same dies as Metcalf, T&S, no. 130, and Rigold, A4, 1.

M.J.B.

56. Sceat, Series C, Runic type, BMC 2b, moneyer Epa.

Weight: 1.00g (15.4gr).

East Walton, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

57. Sceat, Series C2, imitation.

Weight: 1.06g (16.4gr).

Wixford, Warwickshire. M/d find by R. Wakeling.

D.J.S./A.B.

58. Sceat, Series D, type 8, North 50, Continental, c. 700–710

Weight: 1.12g (17.3gr).

Campsey Ash, Suffolk. M/d find, 1998.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

59. Sceat, Series D, type 8, North 50, Continental, c. 700–710

Obv. Standard with two right angles, a bar and a pellet in the corners; one side of the standard is cut by a fantail.

Rev. []VVA[] (the A chevron-barred and inverted)

Weight: 1.11g (17.1gr).

Trimley St Martin, Suffolk. M/d find, 1998.

The reverse of this coin is quite similar to that of CR 1996, 81.

S.M./J.N./M.A.S.B.

60. Sceat, Series D, BMC 8.

Weight: 1.04g (16.0gr).

Bielby, Yorkshire, East Riding. M/d find by A. Hodgson, August 1998.

C.B./C.P.

61. Sceat, Series D, 'Continental runic' type, BMC 2a.

Weight: 1.12g (17.2gr).

West Rudham, Norfolk, site 28131, M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

62. Sceat, Series E, BMC 4, Metcalf A, porcupine; Hallum variety.

Weight: 0.88g (13.5gr).

Yorkshire, 'East Riding'. M/d find by S. Reynolds before January 1998.

C.B./C.P.

63. Sceat, Series E, BMC 4, Metcalf A, porcupine.

Weight: 0.99g (15.2gr).

West Walton, Norfolk, site 25853. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

64. Sceat, Series E, BMC 4, porcupine.

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr).

South Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

65. Sceat, Series E, North 155, Æthilræd.

Weight: 1.3g. Die-axis: 135°.

St Peters, Broadstairs, Kent. M/d find by Mr M. Miles, April 1998.

D.J.H.

66. Sceat, Series E, Aston Rowant variety, VICO, cf. *MEC* 1, 650.

Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr).

Bielby, Yorkshire, East Riding. M/d find by S. Hodgson, January 1998.

C.B./C.P.

67. Sceat, Series E, Aston Rowant variety, VICO, cf. *MEC* 1, 650.

Weight: 1.10g (16.9gr).

Yorkshire, 'East Riding'. M/d find by S. Reynolds before January 1998.

C.B./C.P.

68. Sceat, Series E, Aston Rowant variety, VICO, cf. *MEC* 1, 650.

Weight: 1.23g (18.9gr).

Ryther, North Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Pickles, April 1998.

(Not illustrated.)

C.B./C.P.

69. Sceat, Series E, variety G1, type 4, North 45.

Weight: 1.2g.

Woodnesborough, Kent. M/d find by Mr T. Withington, November 1997.

D.J.H.

70. Sceat, Series E, variety G2. Lower Rhine, c. 700–5

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Elsted, W. Sussex. M/d find, September 1993, during the Hearing Dogs M/d Rally.

Dies not illustrated in Blackburn and Bonser, *BNJ* 57 (1987), pp. 99–103.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

71. Sceat, Series E, variety G2.

Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr).

Monkton, Kent. M/d find, August 1998.

D.J.H.

72. Sceat, Series E, variety G4. Lower Rhine, c. 710–15

Weight: 1.19g (18.4gr).

Ipswich, Suffolk. Trial excavation, 1997.

It is not immediately obvious whether this coin belongs to variety G3 or G4, but the lettering below the curve of the porcupine near the base of the 'tail' looks like the -ZO of variety G4. Dies not illustrated in Blackburn and Bonser, *BNJ* 57 (1987), pp. 99–103.

S.M./J.N.

73. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety. Continent, c. 720–50.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Alfriston, near, E. Sussex. M/d find, February 1995.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

74. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety. Continent, c. 720–50.

Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr).

Bekesbourne, near Canterbury, Kent. M/d find, May 1991.

M.J.B./D.C.

75. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety. Continent, c. 720–50.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Driffild, near, South Yorkshire. M/d find, early 1993.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

76. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety. Continent, c. 720–50.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Driffild, near, South Yorkshire. M/d find, early 1993.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

77. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety. Continent, c. 720–50.

Weight: 1.11g (17.1gr).

Great Glemham, Suffolk. M/d find, 1998.

S.M./J.N.

78. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety. Continent, c. 720–50.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

North Wilts, near the Berks. border, same findspot as CR 1996, 229. M/d find, February 1993.

(Illustration below life-size.)

M.J.B./J.C.M.

79. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety. Continent, c. 720–50.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Oxford, near, Oxon. M/d find, October 1993.

For other examples of the unusual double-bordered standard on the reverse, see Metcalf, *T&S*, nos. 216–18.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

80. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety. Continent, c. 720–50.

Weight: 1.02g (15.7gr).

Thelnetham, Suffolk (THE016 on Suffolk SMR). M/d find, 1997.

S.M./J.N.

81. Sceat, Series C/D/E.

Rev. square compartment containing annulet and symbols in angles.

Weight: 1.23g (18.9gr).

Tibham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

82. Sceat, Series F, Metcalf sub-class b.i. Middle Anglian?, c. 695–705.

Weight: 1.06g (16.4gr). Die-axis: 0°.

West Stafford parish, Dorset. Found October 1998; reported by Mr M. J. Savage.

S.M.

83. Sceat, Series F, type 24b. North 62.

Weight: 1.3g. Die-axis: 180°.

Thurnham, Kent. M/d find by Mr N. Hampshire, April 1998.

D.J.H.

84. Scaet, Series J, BMC 37.
Weight: 1.02g (15.7gr).
Yorkshire, 'East Riding'. M/d find by S. Reynolds before January 1998.
C.B./C.P.
85. Scaet, Series J, BMC 37, plated imitation.
Weight: 0.88g (13.6gr).
Welford-on-Avon, Warwickshire. M/d find by R. Wakeling.
D.J.S./A.B.
86. Scaet, Series J, BMC 72, plated.
Weight: 1.05g (16.2gr).
Northleach, Gloucestershire. M/d find by J. Carpenter.
D.J.S./A.B.
87. Scaet, Series L, London derived, mid 8th century.
Obv. Diademed bust r., cross headed sceptre in front
Rev. Man standing, cross in l. hand, lollipop shaped object in r. hand, with letter T below
Weight: 0.83g (12.8gr). Die-axis: 90°.
Quidenham, Norfolk (E. Crick). M/d find, early 1998.
Reported to Norwich Castle Museum and subsequently shown at the BM (28 April 1998).
G.W.
88. Scaet, Series L, uncertain subtype. Kent or Thames Valley?, English, c. 730–50.
Obv. Head to right, with diadem ties.
Rev. Standing figure between two crosses.
Weight and die-axis: not recorded; corroded.
Oxford, near, Oxon. M/d find, 1993.
M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.
89. Scaet, Series R, Metcalf R8, Blackburn I. East Anglia, c. 730–50.
Obv. Inscription unclear, perhaps blundered ep (runic)
Weight: 0.88g (13.6gr).
Alderton, Suffolk (site recorded on Suffolk SMR [ADT024]). M/d find, 1997.
M.A.S.B./J.N.
90. Scaet, Series R derivative, East Anglia?
Obv. Pelleted square with annulet in centre and three pellets at each side
Rev. Double pelleted square with diagonal cross and three pellets in each angle.
Weight: 0.72g (11.1gr).
Oxborough, Norfolk, site 1021. M/d find, 1998.
J.A.D.
91. Scaet, East Anglia, secondary.
Obv. Dragon l., derived from series Q or U
Rev. Standard, similar to Series R reverses
Weight: 0.88g (13.6gr).
Fring, Norfolk M/d find by J. Bocking, early 1998.
Reported to Norwich Castle Museum and subsequently shown at the BM (28 April 1998).
G.W.
92. Scaet, Series U, 'London copy', cf. BMC 23c.
Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr).
Yorkshire, 'East Riding'. M/d find by S. Reynolds before January 1998.
C.B./C.P.
93. Scaet, Series X (BMC 31), insular style. English, c. 710–20?
Weight: 1.04g (16.0gr). Die-axis: 0°.
West Stafford parish, Dorset. Found October 1998; reported by Mr M. J. Savage.
S.M.
94. Scaet, Series X, BMC 31, Barrett var. d.
Weight: 1.00g (15.4gr). Die-axis: 90°.
Briston, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.
J.A.D.
95. Scaet, Series X, BMC 31.
Weight: 0.82g (12.6gr).
Yorkshire, 'East Riding'. M/d find by S. Reynolds before January 1998.
C.B./C.P.
- Strycas*
96. Northumbria, Eadberht (737–758) and Archbishop Ecgberht. silver scaet/penny, North 192.
Weight: 1.03g (15.9gr).
Cottingham, Yorkshire, East Riding. M/d find by B. Freeman, before September 1998.
C.B./C.P.
97. Northumbria, Alchred and Archbishop Ecgberht (765–6), silver scaet/penny, North 193.
Obv. EGBERHT AR; cross
Rev. +AL.CHRD C (reads anti-clockwise; D retrograde; for letter forms see illustration); cross
Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr). Die-axis: 180°.
Scrampton, Yorkshire. M/d find by Mr Lewis at detecting rally, summer 1998.
From different dies than those illustrated by J. Booth, 'Sceattas in Northumbria' in D. Hill and D.M. Metcalf, *Sceattas in England and the Continent* (BAR British Series 124, 1984), pp.71–111.
D.J.S./A.B.
98. Northumbria, Archbishop Wulfhere, styca, Phase II, Pirie Group Ciii, moneyer Wulfred
Obv. VVL[JE ABED, cross in circle.
Rev. +VVLFRED, cross.
Weight: 0.99g (15.3gr).
S. Cambs. M/d find, late 1993.
Dies not illustrated in Pirie, CKN.
M.J.B. / J.C.M.
99. Northumbria, Eanred (c. 810–840) (c. 830 or earlier –c.854), moneyer Wulfred.
Obv. +EANREDEX; small cross pattée
Rev. +VVLFRED; small cross pattée
Weight: 0.81g (12.5gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Rocklands TL site, Norfolk. M/d find by M. Bone, early 1998. Reported to Norwich Castle Museum and subsequently shown at the BM (28 April 1998).

G.W.

100. Northumbria, Æthelred II, first reign, styca, North 188, Moneyer Leofthegn.

Weight: 0.92g (14.2gr). Die-axis: 180°.

White Ladies Aston, Worcestershire. M/d find by Mr D. Crawford, winter 1994–5.

D.J.S./A.B.

101. Northumbria, Æthelred II, first reign, styca, irregular, phase II, group Ci, Eardulf.

Weight: 0.97g (14.9gr).

Yorkshire, 'East Riding'. M/d find by S. Reynolds before January 1998.

C.B./C.P.

102. Northumbria, Æthelred II, styca, irregular, phase II, group Ci, Eardulf.

Weight: 0.90g (13.9gr).

Leconfield, Lincolnshire. M/d find by S. Sansam before May 1998.

C.B./C.P.

103. Northumbria, styca, Reflective 1, Phase II, group Dii.

Weight: 0.78g (12.0gr).

Yorkshire, 'East Riding'. M/d find by S. Reynolds before January 1998.

Same dies as CKN 2037.

C.B./C.P.

104. Northumbria, styca, reflective III, phase II, group Dii.

Obv. OSDBEREHE (first and final Es reversed), retrograde, letters inverted, around pellet in circle of dots

Rev. + W ESIXT (S reversed) around pellet in circle of dots

Weight: 1.08g (16.6gr).

Bielby, Yorkshire, East Riding. M/d find by S. Hodgson, August 1998.

Obverse die-duplicate of CKN 2228–32. (Not illustrated.)

C.B./C.P.

105. Northumbria, styca, irregular, phase II, group Di.

Weight: 0.60g (9.2gr).

Yorkshire, 'East Riding'. M/d find by S. Reynolds before January 1998.

Obverse die duplicate of CKN 1794–98.

C.B./C.P.

106. Northumbria, styca, irregular, phase II, group Dii.

Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr).

Ousethorpe, Yorkshire, East Riding. M/d find by J.P. Franks before July 1998.

Die duplicate of CKN 2000.

C.B./C.P.

107. Northumbria, styca, irregular, phase II, group Dii. Weight: not recorded.

Ousethorpe, Yorkshire, East Riding. M/d find by J.P. Franks before July 1998.

Obverse die duplicate of CKN 2103–9.

C.B./C.P.

108. Northumbria, styca, phase II, group Ci?, otherwise illegible.

Weight: 1.07g (16.5gr).

Yorkshire, 'East Riding'. M/d find by S. Reynolds before January 1998.

(Not illustrated.)

C.B./C.P.

Carolingian coin

109. Pippin the Short (752–68), Dorestad, similar to M & G 25–26 and MEC I.719.

Obv. ?PIPI, between 'horizontal axe' (the emblem of Dorestad) and cross pattée.

Rev. RF (retrograde), with one dot before R, two dots between RF, a bar above and a cross pattée beneath.

Weight: 1.39g (21.5gr). Die-axis: 0°.

West Hythe, Kent. M/d find, 20 February 1995.

S.M./D.C.

Islamic coin

110. Abbasid Caliphate, fragment of a silver dirhem.

Weight: 1.06g, fragment.

Kingston upon Hull, area. M/d find by S. Todd before August 1998.

C.B./C.P.

Later Anglo-Saxon coins

111. Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, Transitional monogram type, North 240/1, Canterbury, moneyer Sweferd.

Obv. +VVLFRD ARCHIEPI

Rev. +SVVEFHERD MONETA

Weight: 1.4g. Die-axis: 90°.

Sutton, near Dover, Kent. M/d find by Mr J. Davies, March 1998.

D.J.H.

112. Offa of Mercia, Group II, North 310, Canterbury or London, moneyer Ethilwald.

Obv. +OFFA REX+

Rev. E IL VA LD

Weight: 1.0g (15.4gr). Die-axis: 225°.

Monkton, Kent. M/d find August 1998.

D.J.H.

113. Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 370, East Anglian mint, moneyer Wihtrud.

Obv. +COENVVLF REX M; crude bust right, hair composed of rings

Rev. Lozenge with a cross at each angle, cross of pellets in centre; PI HT R ED in angles
Weight: 1.25g. Die-axis: 180°.
Waldershare Park, near Dover, Kent. M/d find by Mr J. Adkin at Pure Gold Rally, 21 September 1997.

D.J.H.

114. Coenwulf, North 370, East Anglian mint, moneyer Wodel.

Obv. +COENVVLF REX M

Rev. Lozenge with a cross at each angle, cross of pellets in centre; PO D E L in angles
Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr). Die-axis: 0°.
Thetford, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

G.W./J.A.D.

115. Viking imitation of Alfred, Two-Line type, North 475/1, uncertain Danelaw mint, moneyer 'Ælfwald', c. 890-5.

Obv. + EL / FR / ED / RE, around cross pattée in inner circle.

Rev. ÆLFV / ALD, in two lines separated by three pellets, with a pellet above and below.

Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr), chipped, broken and repaired. Die-axis: 0° (based on central cross). Pecked: 3 obv., 1 rev.

Pickenham, near, Norfolk. M/d find, 6 November 1998. Information from Paul Murawski.

Struck from the same obverse die as BMC 193, another coin of 'Ælfwald'. The weights of these two specimens (1.22g, chipped, and 1.32g), even allowing for the damage to the first, are too light to be official coins of Alfred and must be Danelaw issues. (On the weight standards, see M. Blackburn, 'The earliest Anglo-Viking coinage of the southern Danelaw (late 9th century)', *Proc. 10th International Congress of Numismatics*, edited by I. A. Carradice (London, 1990), pp. 343-8.) Likewise BMC 194, in a rather different style but weighing only 1.33g, appears to be on the Danelaw standard. BMC 306, weighing 1.50g, is firmly within the weight range of Alfred's official coins and may be the only surviving specimen of prototypes by the moneyer Ælfwald from which the Danelaw imitations derive. The style of that coin (BMC 306) is not typical of any of the main groups of Alfred's Two-Line coins (i.e., London, Winchester, Canterbury, NW England, etc.). Ælfwald may have been operating at a smaller mint, or have obtained these dies from an occasional die-cutter. The Pickenham find is pecked, as were coins of this type in the Ashton (Essex) hoard, confirming that the testing of coins in this way was practised in the southern Danelaw in the late ninth century.

M.A.S.B.

116. St Edmund Memorial, penny, later phase, North 483.

Obv. + SC[], central chevron-barred A.

Rev. +[R? A?] CI

Weight: not recorded; fragment. Die-axis: 0°.
Whitton, Suffolk. M/d find, 1998.

Similar to coins from the hoard found near Colchester, 1995 (Coin Hoards 1996, no. 129), which were also fragmentary. The surface deposit on this piece is however quite different, confirming that it was an independent find.

S.M./J.N./M.A.S.B.

117. Vikings of York, penny, Sievert-Siefred-Cnut group, North 489.

Obv. CSIEFRE/ [D]HS RE[X]

Rev. +EB R[...] VI

Weight: 0.86g (13.3gr), large fragment.

Yorkshire, 'East Riding'. M/d find by S. Reynolds before February 1998.

Coin purchased by Yorkshire Museum.

C.B./C.P.

118. Contemporary imitation of Edward the Elder, 'Flower' type, BMC ix. In two fragments, with part of coin missing.

Obv. +[]HEMHDH; small cross pattée with straggly letter S.

Rev. A line with two small leaves at the base (top missing); pellet in centre from which spring two curved lines containing the letters BVOV

Weight: 0.54g (8.3gr).

North Lopham, Norfolk. M/d find by B. Love, early 1998. Reported to Norwich Castle Museum and subsequently shown at the BM (28 April 1998).

G.W.

119. Eadred, Bust crowned type, BMC v.

Obv. +EADREDRENE; bust crowned, r.

Rev. +VVILEBERTMONETA (initial VV inverted); small cross pattée.

Weight: 1.40g (21.6gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Narborough/Narford, Norfolk. M/d find by J. Coggles. Reported to Norwich Castle Museum and subsequently shown at the BM.

G.W.

120. Eadgar, Circumscription Cross type, BMC iii, Wallingford, moneyer Beorhtic.

Weight: not recorded.

Bardsey Island, Gwynedd. Found in the mouth of an adult male burial, part of a cemetery excavated in 1996 at Ty Newydd, Bardsey Island. The above details are taken from a short account published by C. Arnold in *Archaeology in Wales* 36 (1996), 84. (Not illustrated.)

E.M.B.

121. Edward the Martyr, Small Cross type, North 763, Worcester, moneyer Man.

Obv. +EADPEARD REX ANGLORX

Rev. +MAN MO PIGYRA

Weight: 1.41g (21.8gr), bent, straightened. Die-axis: 315°.

Cranwich, Norfolk. M/d, spring 1990, but not reported hitherto. Acquired by Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (acc. 1991 C 10).

This is the earliest coin of the mint so far discovered. It was struck by one of the two moneyers previously known to have been active in the early years of the reign of Æthelred II.

D.J.S.

122. Æthelred II, First Small Cross type, *BMC* i, North 764, York, moneyer Isulf.

Obv. [+Æ] ÆDEL REX ANGL

Rev. +ISVLF M-O EFERPI

Weight: 1.05g (16.2gr).

Gargrave, North Yorkshire. M/d find by K. Jackson before January 1998.

Same obverse die as *SCBI* 20, 817.

C.B./C.P.

123. Æthelred II, Second Hand type, *BMC* iid, North 768, Canterbury, moneyer Boga.

Obv. +ÆDEL REX ANGLOX

Rev. +BOIA M-O CÆNTPAR

Weight: 1.36g (21.0gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

124. Æthelred II, Second Hand type, *BMC* iid, North 768, London, moneyer Cynesige.

Obv. ÆDEL REX ANGLOORX

Rev. +CYNISIGE M-O LVND

Weight: 1.35g (20.8gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Naunton Beauchamp, Worcestershire. M/d find by Mr D. Crawford, winter 1996-7.

D.J.S./A.B.

125. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iia, North 770, Canterbury, moneyer Eadwold.

Obv. +ÆDEL REX ANGLORX

Rev. +EADWOLD M-O CÆNT

Weight: 1.5g. Die-axis: 90°.

St Nicholas-at-Wade, Kent. M/d find by Mr R. Potter, May 1998.

D.J.H.

126. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iia, North 770, Winchester, moneyer Beorhtnoth.

Obv. +ÆDEL REX ANGLORX

Rev. +BERHTNAD M-O PIN

Weight: 1.52g (23.5gr). broken and corroded. Die-axis: 180°.

Fenny Drayton, Leicestershire. M/d find by Mr D.A. Webb.

D.J.S./A.B.

127. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iia, North 770, York, moneyer Eadric

Obv. +ÆDEL REX ANGLORX

Rev. +EADRIC M-O EOFR

Weight: 1.5g. Die-axis: 90°.

Rochester, near, Kent. April 1995.

D.J.H.

128. Æthelred II, cut farthing, Long Cross type, *BMC* i, North 774, unidentified mint, moneyer -fstan (Ælfstan, Leofstan, or Wulfstan?).

Obv. + Æ[]

Rev. [] FSTA[]

Weight: 0.33g (5.1gr).

Gainsborough, near, Lincs., same village as CR 1996, 213 (etc.) and CR 1997, 141 (etc.). M/d find, before 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

M.J.B./J.C.M.

129. Æthelred II, Long Cross type, *BMC* i, North 774, Huntingdon, moneyer Osgod.

Obv. + ÆDEL REX ANGO (NG ligatured)

Rev. + OS / GVT / MO N / VNT

Weight: 1.42g (21.9gr).

Stonham Aspal, Suffolk. M/d find, 1998.

Same obverse die as *SCBI* Copenhagen ii.445, *SCBI* Glasgow 851 and Hildebrand 1387 (illustrated in M. Blackburn, 'An imitative workshop active during Æthelred II's Long Cross issue', in *Studies in Northern Coinages of the Eleventh Century*, edited by C. J. Becker (Copenhagen, 1981), pp. 29-88, at p. 57 and pl. X, 304, where Dolley's attribution of this to the Hiberno-Norse series is refuted). The discovery of this specimen in East Anglia is additional evidence for the official status of this group of coins.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

130. Æthelred II, Helmet type, *BMC* viii, North 775, London, moneyer Toca.

Obv. +ÆDEL REX ANGL (NG ligatured)

Rev. +TOCA M-O O LVNDEN

Weight: 1.36g (21.0gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Congham, Norfolk, site 31073. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

131. Æthelred II, cut farthing, Helmet type, *BMC* viii, North 775, Dover, moneyer uncertain.

Obv. [] ÆD REX[]

Rev. [] / DOFR

Weight: not recorded. Die-axis: 0°.

Claydon, Suffolk. M/d find, 1998.

Dies not illustrated in *SCBI* 1-48.

S.M./J.N.

132. Æthelred II, Last Small Cross, *BMC* i, North 777, London, moneyer Godwine.

Obv. +ÆDEL REX ANGLORX

Rev. +GODPINEMONLVNDE

Weight: 1.31g (20.2gr).

Between Amersham and Chalfont St Giles, Bucks. M/d find shown at the BM, 25 March 1998

G.W.

133. Harold I, cut halfpenny, Jewel Cross type, North 802, 'National B' style, London, moneyer Wulgar.

Obv. + HAR[] / OLD[] REX (crossbar to A), bust left.

Rev. + PV[] LGAR ON LV[] NDE, cross of four ovals.

Weight: 0.48g (7.4gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Hemingstone, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

Same dies as *SCBI* Stockholm iv, 464.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

134. Harold I, Fleur-de-lis type, North 803, Lincoln, moneyer Wulfbeorn.

Obv. + HAROLD RE : , bust without diadem.

Rev. + PV / LBE / ORN / ON LI (LI ligatured), with trefoil rather than fleur in each angle.

Weight: 0.92g (14.2gr).

Papworth, near, Cambs. M/d find, 1998. Information from Paul Murawski.

Dies not illustrated in Mossop.

S.M.

135. Harthacnut, cut farthing, Arm and Sceptre type, *BMC* ii, North 811, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []ERD[]

Weight: 0.27g (4.2gr).

Drakes Broughton, Wadborough, Worcestershire. M/d find by D. Crawford. September 1998.

D.J.S./A.B.

136. Edward the Confessor, PACX type, *BMC* iv, North 813, Thetford, moneyer Edric.

Obv. EDWERD REX

Rev. + EDRIC ON DEOD, PACX in angles of cross.

Weight: 1.00g (15.4gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Burnham Market, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

137. Edward the Confessor, PACX - Small Cross mule, *BMC* iv/i, North 813/816, Lincoln, moneyer Thurgrim.

Obv. + EDPAR / D REX.

Rev. + DVRGRIM ON LIN.

Weight: not recorded. Two edge chips. Die-axis: 90°.

Scunthorpe, near, Lincs. (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find, before December 1989.

From the same dies as Mossop Aa (plate 67, 28).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

138. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Radiate/Small cross type, *BMC* i, North 816, Ipswich, uncertain moneyer.

Rev. + []IPESPI

Weight: 0.46g (7.1gr).

Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

139. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Radiate/Small cross type, *BMC* i, North 816, Salisbury, moneyer Godwine.

Rev. []NE ONN SER[]

Weight: 0.50g (7.7gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Roundway, Wiltshire. M/d find by L. Early, October 1998.

From the same dies as *SCBI* 18 (Copenhagen), 1168.

E.M.B./P.H.R.

140. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Small Flan type, *BMC* ii, North 818, Huntingdon, moneyer Elfwine.

Rev. +ÆL[N]HV

Weight: 0.65g (10.0gr).

West Rudham, Norfolk, site 28130. M/d find, 1998.

Same dies as *SCBI* 18, 901?

J.A.D.

141. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Expanding Cross type, small flan, *BMC* v, North 820, probably York, moneyer ends in -L.

Obv. + E[]EX.

Rev. []L ON E[O]

Weight and die-axis: not recorded. Broken. The cutting does not follow the reverse cross.

Swallow, Lincs. M/d find, December 1989.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

142. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Expanding Cross type, large flan, *BMC* v, North 823, bust d, Lincoln, moneyer Colgrim

Obv. + EDPE / [RD R]EX.

Rev. [+ C]OLGRIM ON [LINCO:].

Weight: not recorded. Die-axis: 180°. The cutting is diagonal to the cross.

Between Fishbourne and Chichester, W. Sussex. M/d find, early 1993, on a building site. (N.B. The polaroid photo illustrated here has deteriorated.)

Same dies as Mossop Aa (plate 73, 28).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

143. Edward the Confessor, cut farthing, Sovereign type, *BMC* ix, North 827, mint uncertain, moneyer Aeth-.

Rev. +ÆGE[]

Weight: 0.35g (5.4gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Naunton Beauchamp, Worcestershire. M/d find by Mr D. Crawford, winter 1997-8.

D.J.S./A.B.

144. Edward the Confessor, Hammer Cross type, *BMC* xi, North 828, Huntingdon, moneyer Godric.

Obv. + [EADPAR] / RD REX

Rev. + GODRIC ON HVNTE

Weight: 1.21g (18.7gr). bent. Die-axis: 90°.

Stratford St Andrew, Suffolk. M/d find, 1998.

Same dies as *SCBI* 30, 632 and 42, 1489-92.

S.M./J.N./M.A.S.B.

145. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Facing Bust type, *BMC* xiii, North 830, mint probably York or Nottingham, moneyer probably Arngrim.

Obv. []EX A[]

Rev. [N]GRIM O[N]

Weight: 0.43g (6.6gr).

Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk (productive site; see further CR 1996, 204). M/d find, November 1994.

The only moneyer with a name in -ngrim for Edward the Confessor noted by Freeman is Arngrim. The name appears at Stamford, but only for the PACX type, and at Nottingham and York for the Facing Bust type. Freeman suggests (p. 312) that a single moneyer Arngrim may have moved from York to Nottingham in

the course of this type. The dies of this new coin are not illustrated in *SCBI* 1-48.

M.J.B./J.C.M./S.M.

146. Edward the Confessor, Pyramids type, *BMC* xv, North 831, Bridport, moneyer Hwætman.

Obv. EADPARD REX

Rev. +PATEMON ON BRV[]

Weight: 1.07g (16.5gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Welford, Berkshire, recovered from foundations of church during restoration in 1852.

This coin was published, in an uncleaned state, as *SCBI* 42 (South-Eastern Museums), no.1681 as 'uncertain mint and moneyer'. The coin has since been cleaned at the BM, revealing a new type for the Bridport moneyer Hwætman. Note the bars on the reverse cross.

W.L.

147. Harold II, cut halfpenny, PAX type, North 836, Droithwich, moneyer Heathwulf.

Obv. +HAR[]NGL

Rev. +HEA[]NPIC

Weight: 0.56g (8.6gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Naunton Beauchamp, Worcestershire. M/d find by Mr D. Crawford, winter 1996-7.

This appears to be only the twelfth coin of the mint so far discovered. From the same dies as *BMC* 113 (*BNJ* 48, pl.III, 7), the only other known specimen of the type for this moneyer.

D.J.S./A.B.

Hiberno-Norse

148. Blundered imitation of Jewel Cross, probably Hiberno-Norse, mid-11th century. Damaged and heavily worn.

Obv. Blundered legend, diademed bust l., with sceptre

Rev. Blundered legend. 'Jewel Cross' with lines in one angle, three pellets in facing angle. further marks, too worn to be clear, in remaining angles.

Weight: 0.85g (13.1gr).

Tibbenham, Norfolk M/d find by P. Day, summer 1998. Reported to Norwich Castle Museum and subsequently shown at the BM (11 August 1998).

G.W./J.A.D.

Post Conquest Coins

149. William I, Profile - Cross Fleury type, *BMC* I, North 839, mint probably Worcester, moneyer Eastmæ.

Obv. +PI[]

Rev. +EASTMÆR ON PII

Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk (productive site; see further CR 1996, 204). M/d find, February 1994.

The form of the mint name here (PII) could equally represent an abbreviation for either Winchester (PIN) or Worcester (PIHR). However, there is no moneyer Eastmæ known for Winchester, while at Worcester an

Eastmæ is attested for William I types 2, 3, 6 and 8 and William II types 1 and 2. This coin, then, is almost certainly one of Worcester, and it extends the career of Eastmæ back into William I's type 1.

M.J.B./J.C.M./M.A.S.B.

150. William I, Bonnet type, *BMC* II, North 842, Ipswich, moneyer Leofstan.

Obv. +PILLEMV[]

Rev. +LEOFST[]N GIPEI

Weight: 0.79g (12.2gr), chipped and broken. Die-axis: 90°.

Barham, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

Leofstan was not previously attested as a moneyer at Ipswich in William I type 2, but he is known for a 2/3 mule (*BMC* 180) and types 5 and 6. Although *BMC* 180 is double struck, one can see that it is from a different obverse die to this Barham find.

S.M./J.N./M.A.S.B.

151. William I, Two Sceptres type, *BMC* IV, North 844, Gloucester, moneyer Wulfgeat.

Obv. +PILLEM REX ANG

Rev. +PVLFGAT ON GLECI

Weight: 0.98g (15.1gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Gloucester (within 12 miles of), Gloucestershire. M/d find.

This appears to be the first Two Sceptres coin of Gloucester to be discovered. It fills a gap in the moneyer's career, which is known to have extended from the Pointed Helmet type of Edward the Confessor to the PAXS issue of William I. The form of the mint signature is unusual.

D.J.S.

152. William I, Two Sceptres type, *BMC* IV, North 844, Lincoln, moneyer Thorstan

Obv. +PILLEM REX AN.

Rev. +DOR[]AN ON LINI.

Weight: not recorded.

Ropsley, near, near Grantham, Lincs. M/d find, 1995.

Thorstan is known to have struck William I, type IV, in Lincoln (Mossop, plate 82, 4-5), but these dies are not recorded in Mossop.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

153. William I, cut farthing, Two Sceptres type, *BMC* IV, North 844, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. +IEL[]

Weight: 0.26g (4.0gr).

Pirton, Worcestershire. M/d find by D. Crawford, September 1998.

D.J.S./A.B.

154. William I, Sword type, *BMC* VI, North 846, Romney, moneyer Wulfnoth.

Obv. +PILLELM REX I

Rev. +PVLNOD ON RVMNE (NE ligatured)

Weight: 1.15g. Die-axis: 90°.

Barham, Kent. M/d find August 1998.

Moneyer not listed for Romney by North.

D.J.H.

155. William I, 2 coins fused together to form an ornament. PACX type, *BMC* VIII, North 848–50; one probably Brihtword of Bristol.

Obv. + PILL(ELM?) REX (crown of type North 848)

Rev. + B[R]ITPORD ON [](C or L)

Weight: 3.06g (47.2gr). Solder visible between the two coins and at some points around the rims. The solder accounts for the surplus weight. The edge appears to have been hammered up after the fusing. No evidence of any gilding or mount. Axis alignment of the two coins: 0°.

Near Louth, Lincs. M/d find, January 1992.

Presumably joined for jewellery or another decorative purpose. Brihtword is well attested in this type at Bristol, but the reverse does not match dies illustrated in *SCBI* 1–48.

M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M./S.M.

156. Henry I, cut halfpenny, Annulets type, *BMC* I, North 857, uncertain mint (Huntingdon?).

Obv. []REX[]

Rev. []C ON NIIN (for HVN?)

Weight: 0.54g (8.3gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Santon Downham, Suffolk. (Possibly spread spoil from the Thetford by-pass. Same context as CR 1996, 155, 294, 295, and no. 168 below.) M/d find, before April 1994.

The first letter of the mint-name is poorly formed, and looks more like an N than an H. The only possible readings for the mint-signature are HVN (Huntingdon) or HAM (Northampton). The former seems more likely, especially as Godric is an attested moneyer there in Henry II type II. If that attribution is correct, it provides the first coin of Henry I's type I for Huntingdon.

M.J.B./J.C.M./M.A.S.B.

157. Henry I, cut halfpenny, larger profile/Cross and Annulets type, *BMC* VIII, North 864, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.45g (6.9gr).

Whissonsett, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

158. Henry I, Full Face / Cross Fleury type, *BMC* X, North 866, London, moneyer Alfwine?

Obv. +h[ENRICVS] REX:

Rev. +AL[]N LV:

Weight: 0.8g (12.3gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 90°.

St Nicholas-at-Wade, Kent. M/d find by Mr C. Bradshaw, May 1998.

D.J.H.

159. Henry I, Full Face / Cross Fleury type, *BMC* X, North 866, London, moneyer Ailwine.

Obv. []CVS ' REX AN[]

Rev. [+ A]LPINE : ON []V[N]

Weight: 1.34g (20.7gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Papworth, near, Cambs. M/d find, 1998. Information from Paul Murawski.

Dies not illustrated in *SCBI* 1–48.

S.M.

160. Henry I, Smaller Profile/Cross and Annulets, *BMC* XII, North 868, Worcester, moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []ON:PIR[]

Weight: 0.97g (15.0gr), chipped. Die-axis: 45°.

Unknown findspot. Acquired by Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (acc. 1998 C 1).

This is only the sixth coin of Henry I known from the mint, and the first for this issue. Traces of two letters of the moneyer's name survive, but it has proved impossible to establish with certainty what they were.

D.J.S.

161. Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, Gloucester, moneyer Wuleric.

Rev. +PVL[]RIC:O[N:]GLOP[]

Weight: 1.30g (20.0gr), slightly chipped. Die-axis: 0°.

Monmouth, 22–24 Monnow Street, during excavations by S. Clarke, June 1998.

E.M.B.

162. Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, Norwich, moneyer uncertain.

Rev. +[]ON:NORPI

Weight: 1.21g (18.7gr).

Great Walsingham, Norfolk, site 2024. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

163. Henry I, cut farthing, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.31g (4.7gr).

Horstead, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

164. Stephen, 'Watford' type, *BMC* I, North 873, Chester, moneyer Walter.

Obv. STIEFNE R[]

Rev. + [P]TIR : ON : CESTR :

Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr), chipped. Die-axis: 260°.

Gamlingay, near, Cambs. M/d find, 1998. Information from Paul Murawski.

Die-duplicate of *SCBI* Chester 433–4.

S.M.

165. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, London, uncertain moneyer.

Rev. []ON:LVND:

Weight: 0.59g (9.1gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Naunton Beauchamp, Worcestershire. M/d find by Mr D. Crawford, winter 1997–8.

D.J.S./A.B.

166. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.84g, fragment.

Wicklewood, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

167. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. +hl(or V)[]R[]

Weight: not recorded.

Alderford, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

168. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, probably Canterbury, unidentified moneyer. Obv. illegible.

Rev. []NTV

Weight: 0.62g (9.57gr).

Santon Downham, Suffolk. (Possibly spread spoil from the Thetford by-pass. Same context as CR 1996, 155, 294, 295, and no. 156 above.) M/d find, before April 1994.

M.J.B. / J.C.M.

169. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, Salisbury, moneyer Wineman.

Obv. [+ STIEFNE]E

Rev. [+ VINEM]AN : O[N : SAL]

Weight: 0.62g (9.6gr). Die-axis: 45°.

West Stafford parish, Dorset. Found October 1998; reported by Mr M. J. Savage.

Die-duplicate of Elmore Jones, *BNJ* 28 (1957), pl. XXXI.18.

S.M. / M.R.A.

170. Eustace Fitzjohn, impression in lead alloy of reverse die of penny, North 929a.

Weight: 1.99g.

Spofforth, North Yorkshire. M/d find by K. Jackson, before January 1998.

C.B./C.P.

171. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, Series C?

Weight: 0.68g (10.5gr), chipped.

Wilberfoss, East Yorkshire. M/d find by A. Laverack before April 1998.

C.B./C.P.

172. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, Series E/F, uncertain mint and moneyer.

Weight: 0.45g (6.9gr).

Market Weighton, Yorkshire, East Riding. M/d find by A. Laverack, 1998.

(Not illustrated.)

C.B./C.P.

173. Henry II, Tealby type, Series F, North 961, mint uncertain, moneyer Raul.

Weight: 1.23g (19.0gr). Die-axis: 315°.

Redditch, Worcestershire. M/d find by Mr M. Strangwood.

D.J.S./A.B.

174. Henry II, Tealby type, Series F, North 961, Canterbury, moneyer uncertain.

Rev. +[]N CANT

Weight: 1.39g (21.4gr).

Stamford Bridge, East Yorkshire. M/d find by A. Laverack before May 1998.

(Not illustrated.)

C.B./C.P.

175. Henry II, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: not recorded; worn and fragmentary.

Thersfield, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

176. Henry II, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 1.10g, original surface almost wholly lost.

Stamford Bridge, East Yorkshire. M/d find by M. Moore before May 1997.

(Not illustrated.)

C.B./C.P.

177. Henry II, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.35g (fragment).

Wilberfoss, East Yorkshire. M/d find by A. Laverack before April 1998.

C.B./C.P.

178. Ireland, Henry III, Class C(a)/(b), Dublin, moneyer Ricard.

Rev. RIC OND ARD IVE

Weight: 1.24g (19.1gr). Die-axis: 70°.

Earlswood, Warwickshire. M/d find by Mr M. Strangwood.

From official dies, with die-cutter's error transposing parts of the reverse legend.

D.J.S./A.B.

179. Scotland, Alexander III, cut halfpenny, Second Coinage, probably class F.

Weight: 0.64g (9.9gr). Die-axis: 45°.

Scunthorpe, area, Humberside/Lincolnshire. M/d find before March 1998. Acquired at a coin fair in London; found by a metal-detectorist who only works within a twenty-mile radius of Scunthorpe.

This is undoubtedly a contemporary cut halfpenny, though by the time this coin was issued, cut fractions had theoretically been replaced by round halfpence and farthings in both Scotland and England.

D.J.S.

Continental sterling

180. Flanders and Namur, Gui of Dampierre (1279–1305), Mayhew 13.

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr).

Felmingham, Norfolk, site 24242. M/d find, 1998.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

181. Hainaut, John of Avesnes (1280–1304), Mayhew 28.

Weight: 1.28g.

Deerhurst, Gloucestershire. M/d find by Mr D. Crawford, winter 1996–7.

(Not illustrated.)

D.J.S./A.B.

182. Hainaut, John of Avesnes, Mayhew 34.
Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr).
Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.
(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

Obv. + DV[]TANNIE (for DVX BRITANNIE)
Rev. + CASTRI GI[]PI (for GIGAMPI); cross pattée with
w in second quadrant.
Weight: unrecorded. Die-axis: 0°.
Ramsholt, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

S.M./J.N.

183. Looz, Arnold V (1279–1323), Mayhew 59.
Weight: 1.26g (19.4gr).
Quidenham, Norfolk, site 30375. M/d find, 1998.
(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

192. French Feudal. Provence, Robert of Anjou
(1309–43), sol coronat, Poey d'Avant 3989.
Weight: 1.61g (24.8gr).
Reading, Berkshire. Oxford Archaeological Unit
excavations, Oracle site, 1997–8.

M.R.A./D.P.

184. Looz, Arnold V (1279–1323), 'pollard' type
sterling.
Weight: 1.08g (16.7gr).
Milton Keynes Village, Bucks. M/d find by Mr B.
Robinson, 1995–6.
(Not illustrated.)

M.R.A.

193. Germany, Cologne, Archbishop Philip of
Heinsberg (1167–91), Pfennig, presumably c. 1167–8,
Hävernich 503.
Obv. []CHI[]; bust of the Archbishop holding crozier
and book.

Rev. []IS (M?) []; building.

Weight: 1.33g (20.5gr), edge hammered, some wear,
corroded. Die-axis: 300°.
Canterbury, near, Kent. M/d find, early 1997.
Information from Philip de Jersey.

On the monetary relations between England and
Cologne, see *BNJ* 1995, pp. 32–45.

J.C.M.

186. Maria of Namur (1342/4–1353), Méraude, as
Mayhew 357.
Weight: 0.90g (13.9gr).
Attlebridge, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

194. Brabant, Charles the Bold (1467–77), double
patard, Van Gelder & Hoc 23–1.
Weight: unrecorded.
Garboldisham, Suffolk. Stray find, 1997.
(Not illustrated.)

S.M./C.M.

187. William of Namur (1337–91), Mayhew 361.
Weight: 1.00g (15.4gr).
Attlebridge, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.
(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

195. Flanders, Charles the Bold (1467–77), double
patard, Van Gelder & Hoc 23–3.
Weight: unrecorded.
Framlingham, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.
(Not illustrated.)

S.M./J.N.

188. Trier, Kuno von Falkenstein (1362–88), cf.
Chautard 335ff.
Weight: 0.58g (8.9gr), fragmentary.
Norfolk, uncertain provenance. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

196. Italy, Bologna, grosso, anonymous independent
coinage, 15th century.
Weight: not recorded.
Norfolk, uncertain provenance. M/d find, 1998.

B.J.C./J.A.D.

European coins

189. France, Philippe IV (1285–1314), gros tournois.
Weight: 3.95g. Die-axis: 315°.
North Walsham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.
Has a broken, soldered attachment on the reverse
which suggests that this was re-used as a brooch.

J.A.D.

197. Sardinia, Ferdinand the Catholic (1479–1516),
reale minuto, *CNI* II, p. 443, no. 15.
Weight: 0.90g (13.9gr).
Sandwich, Kent. M/d find by Mr G. Wright, c. 1992.

M.R.A.

190. France, Philippe IV, double tournois, Duplessy
229.
Weight: 1.24g.
Attlebridge, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

198. Spain, Charles V and Joanna (1515–56), gold
escudo, Seville, Cayon & Castan 3029.
Weight: 3.39g, clipped and broken in two.
Meriden, West Midlands. M/d find by Mrs S. Goode,
November 1996.
(Not illustrated.)

P.J.W.

191. Brittany, Duke John I (1237–86), denier,
Guingamp mint. Poey d'Avant. 338–43.

199. Denmark, Eric of Pomerania (1396–1439), sterling, c. 1405–20, Galster 9.
Weight: 0.61 g (9.4 gr).
South Lincs. M/d find, 1998.

M.R.A./S.J.S.

200. Teutonic Order, Michael Kuchmeister von Sternburg (1414–22), schilling.
Weight: 1.56 g.

Malton, North Yorkshire. Casual find by J. Turnbull before June 1998.

C.B./C.P.

201. Denmark, Eric of Pomerania, sterling, Naestved.
Weight: not recorded (but coin chipped).

Dymock, Gloucestershire. M/d find, 1997; made available by G. Charman of Format Coins.
(Not illustrated.)

D.J.S.

Seventeenth-century token

202. Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, brass farthing of Zachary Philips, n.d.; unpublished type.

Obv. Rosette ZACHARY-PHILIPS; Mercers' arms

Rev. OF-HAVERFORDWEST; in centre, P | Z I and three mullets.

Weight: 0.89 g.

Haverfordwest, Pembs. M/d find during garden excavation by R. Blacklaw-Jones, July 1998.

A new issuer, taking the total for Haverfordwest to twelve, a figure matched in Wales only at Wrexham.

E.M.B.

Addenda

The fragmentary Islamic dirhem published as CR 1995 no.128 has been presented to Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery by the finder, Mrs H.S. Bate (acc. 1996 C 3).

D.J.S.

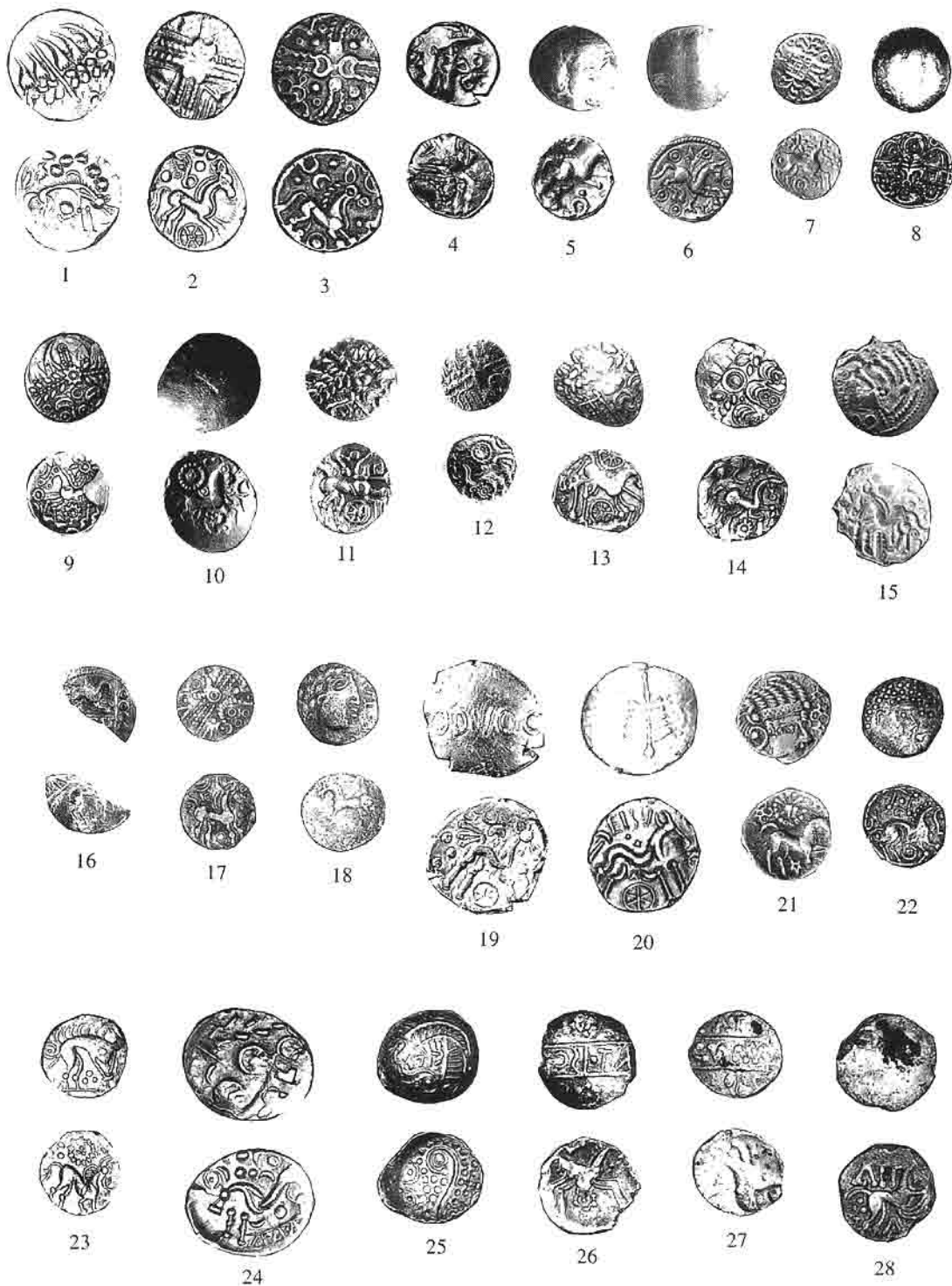


PLATE 22







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PLATE 26



COIN REGISTER 1998 (6)



WILLIAMS: EADBALD

REVIEWS

Scottish Coins: A History of Small Change in Scotland, by Nicholas Holmes, Edinburgh (National Museums of Scotland), 1998. 112pp., 118 ills.

THIS short but informative book is one of several published recently to coincide with the opening of the new Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh. It is not, as its primary title would imply, an account of Scottish coins and currency as a whole, but concentrates on the small change which provided an increasing proportion of the money in circulation from the fifteenth century onwards.

The minor coins of Scotland, often in poor condition from heavy wear and liable because of their base metal to deteriorate when buried in the soil, have not always received the attention which their interest would justify. In the post-war years, however, many of the series have been accorded more systematic treatment, as by Mrs Murray on the copper coinages of James III, by R.B.K. Stevenson on James V and Mary bawbees and the Stirling turners of Charles I, and by Colonel Murray on the other issues from James VI onwards. Mr Nicholas Holmes, curator of the Scottish national collection and author of the present work, has himself already made a valuable contribution through his study of the billon pence of James II and III from the Leith hoard of 1980. Now he has done a further service by providing us with a general survey of the subject, with many apt quotations from contemporary documents, and discussing the coins less from a technical numismatic viewpoint than in their role as currency. In this connection the author brings together in conveniently accessible form a considerable amount of information about hoards and single finds that could only otherwise be found by consulting numerous accounts in scattered publications.

After two preliminary chapters, covering the Roman to Saxon period and the first two and half centuries of Scottish coinage before debasement began in the reign of Robert III (1390–1406), the body of the book consists of seven chapters which treat the base metal coins of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and an epilogical account of Scottish currency in the post-Union period. There then follows a long and fascinating discussion of the prices of everyday commodities, much of it based on Gemill and Mayhew's *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland* and Gibson and Smout's *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland 1550–1780*.

A final chapter on coin names also includes much information of interest. The author notes that Robert Burns used the spelling boddle (as indeed did Walter Scott), suggesting that the alternative name for a twopenny piece or turner was pronounced with a short o, making its derivation from the name Bothwell more

plausible. Another observation is that the name bawbee, surviving into the twentieth century, has been used until recent times to mean either sixpence or halfpenny, the former being its pre-1707 value in Scottish coin and the latter its post-union English equivalent.

One of the most useful features of the book is that Mr Holmes relates the documentary evidence about currency to surviving Scottish coins, particularly as they are found in increasing numbers today, as a result of the growing activity of metal-detectorists. The book also discusses, on the basis of coin finds, the circulation of foreign coins in Scotland, especially French from the sixteenth century and Dutch in the seventeenth century. These coins are frequently mentioned in documents of the period and Mr Holmes connects the French coins in the middle of the sixteenth century with the presence of French troops in Scotland from 1548. Forgery made a less acceptable contribution to the currency. There are many counterfeits, especially from the reigns of James III and James IV onwards. Many of these were evidently made in the Low Countries and there are a number of references to the grisly punishments suffered by those who manufactured or imported counterfeit coin.

This book contains a number of original comments of value to numismatists. For example, Mr Holmes notes that billon pence of James I are now found more frequently than those of James II, although the number of known coins of each (presumably deriving mainly from hoards) would previously have suggested that their relative rarity was the other way round. He also describes and illustrates a third type of Scottish copper farthing of James III, combining the obverse of type II with the reverse of type I, but evidently not a mule in the ordinary sense of the word since several examples are known.

Except for some of the illustrations that are too dark to show detail, this little book is well produced and easy to read or consult. Mr Holmes is to be commended for producing a work which should be of value to students as well as serving a less specialist readership.

LORD STEWARTBY

Jetons, Medalets and Tokens. Volume Three. British Isles circa 1558 to 1830, by Michael Mitchener. Hawkins Publications 1998. 592 pages £95.

AS the title indicates this is the third volume of a series. Volume 1 (1988) was titled 'The Medieval Period and Nuremberg'. Volume 2 (1991) covered The Low Countries and France. This latest volume follows the format of the previous ones and its pagination runs in sequence to its predecessors (pages 1569 to 2159). It is printed with a mixture of a 10-point typeface for

historical matters and 8-point for item descriptions. Although this seems small the justified text and large page format makes it reasonably easy on the eyes. Every item in the collection is illustrated actual size and sometimes again X2. This means more than 2000 good quality illustrations. As previously these are within, or to the side of, the text with numbers that allow one to find the relevant description easily. The subject covered is very wide and only very sketchily covered in works such as *Medallic Illustrations of British History* (M.I.) and Laurence Brown's *British Historical Medals*. The author attempts to cover all aspects of this huge subject, but a purchaser will immediately find the same reasons for criticism as with the previous volumes. This is again primarily a catalogue of an individual's collection and hence what appears, at first glance, to be comprehensive coverage of a subject can turn out to be very eclectic, for instance the only examples included of the Dublin issues of James II's gun money are three silver restrikes, and Dassier's medals depicting English sovereigns are illustrated by one uniface lead trial piece.

In spite of these eccentricities there is a lot of interest and value here. The late Elizabethan pewter token series is covered in great detail. They have been found in large numbers but their mixture of English and French devices has always confused. Prior publication was primarily M.I. or some detailed listings by the late Dr David Rogers (writing as Sola) in Paul Withers' (Galata) *Sacra Moneta*, valuable but possibly not widely known. Similarly many of the seventeenth-century 'engraved' counters attributed to Simon van der Passe are shown. These are fairly common but not often illustrated. Examples of the rarer biblical series are included and mention is made of other even rarer series published by Helen Farquhar and L.A. Lawrence. (NC and BNJ).

Medalets are well covered. These mass-produced items, cheaply and speedily made to commemorate or publicise events of the day, are still to be found in junk boxes, and Mitchener attempts to put these into context both in terms of the events they depict and the manufacturers who produced them. Although any specialist collector is likely to find their subject incompletely covered, it is only from a publication like this that one realises the wide range of occasions that were commemorated. Early to mid nineteenth-century card counters are also given good coverage. Details of such pieces are normally only to be found in specialist publications such as the *Token Corresponding Society Bulletin*.

Seventeenth-century tokens are excluded from this volume and the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tokens are included largely to illustrate topics such as private tokens, or tokens mentioning their

manufacturer. I do not give this as a criticism, because detailed catalogues such as Williamson, Dalton & Hamer and Davis are readily available and always mentioned by Mitchener as appropriate sources. The social history aspect was the more interesting to this reviewer and I found the large section devoted to the Birmingham 'Toy' trades particularly interesting. There are no doubt many errors to be found, (I was particularly surprised to see the tokens of John Rice from the Manors of Minster (Kent) and Frinton (Essex) described as Kentish farming tokens¹), but the sheer mass of information supplied has to be an improvement over our previous state of knowledge. The work concludes with a nineteen-page bibliography and a valuation for each item. Taking into account the comments made about the impact of condition on price these seemed to be reasonably realistic. The proposed contents for a fourth volume, to bring the series to modern times, are also included.

In conclusion I would have to describe this as a curate's egg, good in parts but ultimately disappointing, because it seeks to cover too vast a subject. I do however congratulate the author for making the attempt.

PHILIP MERNICK

The Pingo Family and Medal – Making in Eighteenth Century Britain by Christopher Eimer, British Art Medal Society, 1998. 96pp., 241 plates.

HERBERT Grueber in his introduction to *Medallic Illustrations of the history of Great Britain and Ireland* remarked that 'the history of English medallists is in a great degree the history of the medallists of other countries'. In fulfilment of this expectation the Pingo family, the leading medal-makers in mid-eighteenth England, were endowed with an Italian provenance which stayed with them in Forrer's *biographical Dictionary of Medallists* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Christopher Eimer demonstrates that this expectation was wrong. The Pingos are native, probably originating in Devon and certainly present in London from the 1670s onwards. Richard Pingo signed a bracket clock made in the 1680s and his extensive family, clearly mapped by Eimer, were members of the Haberdasher and Clockmaker's companies of the city of London. Watchmaking seems to have led to engraving and interesting evidence is provided here of Thomas Pingo Sr's work as an armorial engraver of silver plate. It is, though, with the medallic work of Thomas Pingo Jr (1714–76) and his sons John *1738–1827 and Lewis (1743–1830) that this book is centrally concerned.

One of Eimer's great achievements is to locate this work within a wider picture. This includes analysis of

¹ These have long been recognised as pickers' tokens but pickers of copperas, a degraded iron ore found on the seashore at both locations. A detailed description of such tokens was

published by W.H. George in 1991 (*Copperas and Copperas Tokens of Essex and Kent*).

the growing commercial market for medals, the different and complementary strategies adopted by the intermarried Pingo and Kirk families in responding to the opportunities available, and a clear picture of the scale of production overall. Thomas Pingo Jr was launched in his career as a commercial medallist by popular demand for portraits of the Duke of Cumberland, conqueror of the Jacobites, in 1746. Such medals were sold through toymen and later through more specialised retailers like the Pinchbecks and Thomas Snelling.

Thomas Pingo took every opportunity that came his way. Celebrator of Culloden, he was also the covert creator of Bonnie Prince Charlie's medal for the Oak Society of which he struck six gold, 102 silver, 283 copper and fifty soft metal examples for the Prince's secret visit to London in 1750.

Like everyone in eighteenth-century Britain, the Pingos yearned for a 'place'. The first step towards this was Thomas Pingo Jr's appointment as engraver of punches to the Assay Office at Goldsmith's Hall in 1754. Further opportunity arose when Thomas' son Lewis, a gifted draughtsman and modeller, began to win a series of prizes for drawings (from 1756) and wax models (from 1759) from the newly constituted Society of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures. Lewis's models dramatically improved Thomas Pingo's medals: Eimer's meticulous *Corpus* of the family's surviving work shows that from the medal for the Prince of Wales's majority in 1759 onwards, the Pingo family put out a number of pieces of real quality. Others had a

hand in this too; a close relationship with Thomas Hollis resulted in a series of austere but impressive commemorative medals for the Society of Arts, while Edward Penny's and Giovanni Cipriani's drawings for the Royal Academy resulted in two beautiful prize medals in 1770. At this time a further 'place', as third engraver at the Mint, was acquired by Thomas as an inheritance for his son Lewis, who duly succeeded him in 1776. From then on, the demands of life at the Mint, where John also acquired a position in 1780, combined with the assurance of a regular salary reduced their medallic output to a trickle. It is, as Eimer demonstrates in one of his numerous and useful appendices, precisely during this period, when the Pingos were losing interest in sales, that the centre of commercial medal-making transferred from London to Birmingham.

The Pingo Family is a more considerable achievement that its slim and elegant format might suggest. It provides a wealth of information of value to students of craft and consumption in eighteenth-century London. It fills in important links in the network of personal and familial connections, knowledge which is essential to any real understanding of the period. It greatly enlarges understanding of the production, marketing and reception of medals and it presents and documents an attractive and important body of work. One can only hope that those who make peripheral appearances here, the Kirks, Richard Yeo, Edward Burch and George Michael Moser, will soon be served so well.

MARK JONES

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1998

The President, Mr G.P. Dyer, was in the chair at all meetings, which were held at the Warburg Institute.

27 JANUARY 1998. Mr S. Freeman was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mrs V. Porter read a paper entitled 'Treasure from the sea: Moroccan gold from the Devon coast'.

24 FEBRUARY 1998. Messrs B. Arthur, J. Cribb and D. Tisbury were elected to Ordinary Membership. Dr J.M. Kleeberg read a paper entitled 'The international circulation of Spanish American coinage and the financing of the Napoleonic Wars'.

24 MARCH 1998. Messrs A. Nichol, J. Perry and D. Wilson were elected to Ordinary Membership. Dr B. Cook read a paper entitled 'The bezant in Angevin England'.

29 APRIL 1998. Messrs D.G. Loulakakis and S.M. Miller were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr N.M.McQ. Holmes read a paper entitled 'Base metal coinage in Scotland c. 1400–1750'.

26 MAY 1998. Messrs J.-C. Bedel, A. Owen, G.A. Peakall, G.F. Snelling and D.R. Wilkinson were elected to Ordinary Membership, and Mr T. Merson was presented with an inscribed silver Membership Medal in appreciation of his work as Honorary Auditor. Mr G. Williams read a paper entitled 'Land assessment and the silver economy in Norse Scotland c. 900–1266'.

23 JUNE 1998. Mr P. Lewis was elected to Ordinary Membership. The President announced that the recent introduction of the Charities Act 1993 necessitated changes to the Bye-Laws, and the following changes to Section XIX were proposed for adoption at an Extraordinary Meeting to be convened in October.

(1) The Society shall at each Anniversary Meeting appoint an Independent Examiner to examine the accounts of the Society during the ensuing year in accordance with Section 43(3)(a) of the Charities Act 1993 and any directions of the Charity Commissioners and any regulations made by the Secretary of State in connection with that examination.

(2) The report of the Independent Examiner shall be incorporated in the accounts presented by the Treasurer at the Anniversary Meeting.

It was further proposed to change Section XVI.2 thus: 'Any proposal for an expenditure, other than the publication of *The British Numismatic Journal* and any

volume in the *Special Publication* series, exceeding one thousand pounds shall be laid before the Society . . .'

Mr H. Williams read a paper entitled 'The production and chronology of the bronze coinage of Carausius'.

22 SEPTEMBER 1998. Messrs P.D. Coyte, P. Higginson, J. Lamont, P.E. Phillips, A.C.L. Rennie and C. Smith were elected to Ordinary Membership. The President read out the proposed changes to the Bye-Laws a second time, and then Mr P. Preston-Morley read a paper entitled 'John Symonds Udal and his collection of Dorset tokens'.

27 OCTOBER 1998. The President convened an Extraordinary Meeting which formally adopted the changes to Sections XIX and XVI.2 of the Bye-Laws set out above. Messrs M.J. Hallam, G. Hedley, M. Hughes, M. Shott, R. Smith, B. Snowball and N. Tooley were elected to Ordinary Membership. Lt. Cdr. C.R.S. Farthing, R.N. read a paper entitled 'The Norman Mint of Carlisle'.

24 NOVEMBER 1998. Messrs R. Hatch, J.Y. de Montfalcon and S.L. Skellern were elected to Ordinary Membership. The following officers and Council were elected for 1999:

President:

D.W. Dykes

Vice Presidents:

C.E. Challis, C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, Lord Stewartby and P. Woodhead

Director:

E.M. Besly

Treasurer:

T.G. Webb Ware

Librarian:

A.J. Holmes

Secretary:

C.R.S. Farthing

Council:

M.J. Anderson, M.M. Archibald, M.A.S. Blackburn, J. Bispham, K. Clancey, J.A. Davies, R.J. Eaglen, N.M.McQ. Holmes, M. Mays, J.L. Morton, D.H. Saville, G. Williams and P.J. Wise.

Council's proposal that the subscription for 1999 should remain unchanged at £24 for Ordinary Members and £10 for Junior Members was approved. The President, Mr G.P. Dyer, then delivered his final Presidential Address, and was thanked, on behalf of the membership, by Mr C.S.S. Lyon. Dr D.W. Dykes then took the chair.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1997

The British Numismatic Society was founded in 1903, and is a registered charity (No. 275906). The Society is established for the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science, particularly through the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America, and of such territories as may at any time be or have been subject to their jurisdiction.

The trustees of the Society for the year ended 31st October 1997 were the officers and members of Council:-

G.P. Dyer (President); C.E. Challis, C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, Lord Stewartby, P. Woodhead (Vice-Presidents); B.T. Curtis (Director); T.G. Webb Ware (Treasurer); A.J. Holmes (Librarian); J.D. Bateson (Secretary); E.M. Besly, N.M.McQ. Holmes (Editors); M.J. Anderson, A.M. Burnett, P.J. Casey, J.A. Davies, D.W. Dykes, C.R.S. Farthing, P.H. Mernick, J.L. Morton, P. Robinson, M. Sinclair, P.J. Wise (Council).

The registered address of the charity is that of the Treasurer, T.G. Webb Ware, 35 Coniston Court, Kendal Street, London, W2 2AN. The Society's activities are governed by its rules, reprinted by order of Council, 1995.

The Society's bankers are National Westminster Bank, PO Box 10720, 217 Strand, London, WC2R 1AL.

The independent examiner is R.A. Merson, F.C.A., Tanyard House, 13A Bridge Square, Farnham, Surrey, GU9 7QR.

The Society holds meetings on the fourth Tuesday of each month, from January to June and September to November at the Warburg Institute, University of London at which a substantive paper is read. In 1997 these included the Linecar Lecture on 23rd September read by Professor Christopher Dyer on *Peasants and coins: the uses of money in the later Middle Ages*. On 5th July a special one-day meeting on *Mints and Coinage in Winchester and Wessex* was held at the Guildhall, Winchester.

In March 1997 the Society published Volume 65 of the British Numismatic Journal. This is a hardbound volume of 273 pages and 28 plates containing twelve principal articles and twenty short articles and reviews. It also includes the Coin Register 1995 listing in detail 277 single coin finds in Britain and Ireland, the Presidential Address 1995, Proceedings 1995 and accounts for the year ended 31st October 1994.

The Society also distributed to members three editions of the CCNB (Coordinating Committee for Numismatics in Britain) Newsletter containing short and topical articles, reviews and details of meetings and exhibitions.

The Society holds a substantial library, jointly with the Royal Numismatic Society, at the Warburg Institute. Books are available for loan to members, both in person and by post. The Society maintains a programme of acquiring new books and rebinding existing copies where necessary.

During the year the Society made two grants, each of £250, to enable two students and members of the Society to attend the International Congress in Berlin. The Society also awarded a special striking of its gold Sanford Saltus medal to Professor Grierson. The Society pays annual subscriptions to the International Numismatic Commission and to the British Association of Numismatic Societies (BANS).

The Society is financed by an annual subscription of £24 paid by both private and institutional members, together with interest on cash held on deposit and donations from members over and above their subscription. It also holds a stock of backnumbers of the British Numismatic Journal which are available for purchase by members or non-members. The Brand volume, the first volume in the Special Publications series financed by the Osborne Fund, was produced in 1994 and the Society is still receiving some orders.

All the officers of the Society offer their services on a voluntary basis and administrative costs are kept to a minimum, consisting largely of postage and stationery.

The Society is actively seeking to increase its membership, both in Britain and overseas. It produces a factsheet and helps to staff the BANS stand at the annual London Coinex show. Over the last ten years membership has steadily risen from 500 to just under 600.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST OCTOBER 1997

	General Fund £	Designated Funds £	Total 1997 £	Total 1996 £
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE				
INCOME RESOURCES				
Subscriptions and Entrance Fees received for 1997 and earlier years	12,193	—	12,193	11,450
Interest received	3,297	4,804	8,101	7,457
Donations	119	—	119	38
Sale of Publications:-				
Backnumbers	202	—	202	539
Special Publications	—	176	176	56
TOTAL INCOME RESOURCES	15,811	4,980	20,791	19,540
RESOURCES EXPENDED				
British Numismatic Journal	10,757	—	10,757	14,020
CCNB Newsletter	495	—	495	472
Sanford Saltus Medal	211	—	211	—
Provincial Meetings	—	389	389	170
Grants – INCA	500	—	500	—
Council's Prize	—	—	—	150
London Meetings	356	271	627	329
Library	869	—	869	909
Subscriptions	96	—	96	117
Other printing, postage and stationery	178	—	178	673
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	13,462	660	14,122	16,840
NEW INCOMING RESOURCES, BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS				
	2,349	4,320	6,669	2,700
FUND BALANCES (B/F) 1.11.96	29,732	85,207	114,939	112,239
FUND BALANCES (C/F) 31.10.97	32,081	89,527	121,608	114,939

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST OCTOBER 1997

	1997 £	1996 £
GENERAL FUND	32,081	29,732
DESIGNATED FUNDS	89,527	85,207
	<u>121,608</u>	<u>114,939</u>
ASSETS:		
Library and Furniture at cost less amounts written off	160	160
Stock of Medals	130	130
Sundry Debtors	1,533	1,205
Cash at Bankers and in Hand Bank – Deposit Account	145,000	142,000
Current Account	1,743	2,474
	<u>148,566</u>	<u>145,969</u>
LIABILITIES:		
J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund	200	400
Subscriptions received in advance	393	240
Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges	1,304	1,925
Creditors and Provision for Journals	25,061	28,465
	<u>26,958</u>	<u>31,030</u>
	<u>121,608</u>	<u>114,939</u>

Registered Charity No. 275906

The accounts were approved by Council on 24th November 1998

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST OCTOBER 1997

1. Accounting Policies

General

These accounts have been prepared under the historic cost convention and in accordance with applicable accounting standards and the Statement of Recommended Practice on Accounting by Charities.

Subscriptions

No credit is taken for subscriptions in arrears.

2. Funds

Individual fund movements

	Linecar Fund £	Osborne Fund £	Benefactors' Fund £	Total £
Balance at 1.11.96	9,189	67,551	8,467	85,207
<i>Income</i>				
Interest received	519	3,816	469	4,804
Brand Volume receipts	—	176	—	176
<i>Expenditure</i>				
Winchester Meeting	—	—	(389)	(389)
Anniversary Meeting	—	—	(271)	(271)
Balance at 31.10.97	<u>9,708</u>	<u>71,543</u>	<u>8,276</u>	<u>89,527</u>

The General and Designated Funds are all unrestricted. The balance of £167 on the Schneider Fund is now included in the Benefactors' Fund.

The Linecar Fund was started in 1986 with the bequest of £5,000 and Council has designated this Fund to provide an endowment for a biennial lecture in Mr Linecar's memory.

The Osborne Fund was started in 1991 with the bequest of £50,000 and Council has designated this Fund to finance the series of Special Publications.

The Benefactors' Fund consists of other bequests to the Society.

3. Creditors and Provision for Journals

	£
British Numismatic Journal 66 (1996), published January 1998	13,551
British Numismatic Journal 67 (1997), to be published January 1999	11,510
	<u>25,061</u>

INDEPENDENT EXAMINER'S REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

I report on the accounts of the Society for the year ended 31st October 1997, which are set out on pages 185 to 187.

Respective responsibilities of trustees and examiner

Council as the Society's trustees are responsible for the preparation of the accounts; and consider that the audit requirement of Section 43(2) of the Charities Act 1993 does not apply. It is my responsibility to state, on the basis of procedures specified in the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners under Section 43(7) (b) of that Act, whether particular matters have come to my attention.

Basis of independent examiner's report

My examination was carried out in accordance with the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners. An examination includes a review of the accounting records kept by the Society and a comparison of the accounts presented with those records. It also includes consideration of any unusual items or disclosures in the accounts, and seeking explanations from Council concerning any such matters. The procedures undertaken do not provide all the evidence that would be required in an audit, and consequently I do not express an audit opinion on the view given by the accounts.

Independent examiner's statement

In connection with my examination, no matter has come to my attention:

- (a) which gives me reasonable cause to believe that in any material respect the requirements to keep accounting records in accordance with section 41 of the Charities Act 1993; and to prepare accounts which accord with the accounting records and to comply with the accounting requirements of that Act have not been met; or
- (b) to which, in my opinion, attention should be drawn in order to enable to proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.

R.A. Merson, F.C.A.
Tanyard House,
13A Bridge Square,
Farnham,
Surrey,
GU9 7QR.

24th November 1998

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, 1998

G.P. DYER

QUITE by chance I recently reminded myself of Derek Allen's last Presidential Address, delivered in 1963. A man as many of you know of formidable intellect and scholarship, he bravely looked ahead at the end of his Address and speculated that in the 1990s, in all its essentials, the Society would be indistinguishable from the Society of the 1960s. And so in a real sense I suppose we are: extending and evolving, of course, but still, quite properly in my view, giving precedence to the basic tasks of publishing an annual *Journal* and providing a monthly programme of lectures. And I hope, were he here tonight, that we should also satisfy him that we have a membership, to use his simple terms, as good and happy as it was in 1963.

Now happiness, as every reader of Dickens is aware, is directly linked to financial solvency; and on that front we have just heard the very satisfactory report of our Treasurer, Tim Webb Ware, whose expectation that last year's small deficit was a temporary aberration has indeed proved to be the case. This year we again show a surplus of income over expenditure and your Council therefore felt able to recommend for the seventh year in succession that the annual subscription should remain unchanged. Very healthy sums are held in reserve and in our three major dedicated funds, and I think we may justly have that feeling of financial security and comfort that for so long eluded Mr Micawber. For this happy state of affairs I want particularly to thank Tim Webb Ware, who for more than ten years has supervised our finances with that wise quality of prudence so often referred to by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer.

During the year I am glad to say that we have elected thirty-three new members and one has been reinstated. After allowing for deaths, resignations and the fourteen amovals just announced, membership now stands at 473 individual members and 114 institutional members. Whether we would wish to claim to be a better membership than that of 1963 I am not sure, but we are certainly larger by some sixty per cent. I wish, however, we could boast thirty-two junior members as we did then, though on a more positive note I calculate that no fewer than forty-nine of us were members in 1963, something that speaks eloquently for the loyalty that we all feel towards the Society.

Of the deaths that have been reported during the year, our sadness has been alleviated by the knowledge that those lost were full of years and achievement. Obituary notices of Raymond Lax and Vincent Newman have already appeared in the CCNB *Newsletter* and it is for that reason alone that I shall say nothing more about them tonight. Within the last few days we have learned of the death at the age of ninety of Pat Brettell, who having been elected in 1942 was one of our longest-serving members. A rare visitor to London, he will be remembered best for his collection of coins of the Devon mints, a lasting record of which has been provided by his sale catalogues with their introductions by Lord Stewartby.

Our regular programme of meetings here at the Warburg has offered the usual broad variety of subjects and has, I hope, catered for the catholic interests of the Society as a whole. We began in January with Venetia Porter speaking about Moroccan gold coins that had been found off the Devon coast, and thoughts of international trade and international movements of bullion remained in our minds in February and March, when first John Kleeberg spoke about the role of Spanish American dollars during the Napoleonic War and then Barrie Cook threw light on the bezant in Angevin England. In April our Editor, Nick Holmes, described the circulation of base metal coinage in Scotland and we stayed in Scotland for the May meeting, when Gareth Williams introduced us to the mysteries of land assessment and the silver

economy in Norse Scotland. In June, thanks to Hugh Williams, we returned to a subject, the coinage of Carausius, which has previously held our attention and which from its complexity will no doubt do so again. Peter Preston-Morley, in September, revealed a surprisingly raffish John Symonds Udal and we heard with pleasure of the almost chance discovery by Barrie Cook of Udal's cabinet of seventeenth-century Dorset tokens in the British Museum. And finally last month our incoming Secretary, Charles Farthing, spoke of the difficulties encountered in the study of the coins of Carlisle, difficulties that we gathered would be diminished if it were possible to re-locate Carlisle in the middle of Essex.

This year's out-of-town meeting, attended by nearly fifty members, took place on the first Saturday in July and with his usual skill our Director contrived to produce another gloriously sunny day. The venue was Lincoln, in the shadow of the massively impressive Cathedral, and the day's five lectures took as their theme mints, dies and coinage in the East Midlands. Jeffrey May got us off to an intriguing start by using archaeological evidence to re-examine Iron Age minting techniques, and he was followed by Alan Vince, who spoke about the archaeology of Lincoln, and then by Mark Blackburn on coinage in the Southern Danelaw. After a break for lunch, our Vice-President Stewart Lyon gave a characteristically thoughtful account of coinage in the East Midlands after the recovery of the Danelaw, leaving Edward Besly with his description of Civil War siege pieces to take his accustomed place at the rear. It was an excellent day, fully up to the standards that we have set for these out-of-town meetings, and in expressing thanks to our speakers I want also to acknowledge Andrew Burnett and Hugh Pagan, who kindly shared the duties of Chairman.

Looking for a moment beyond the direct concerns of the Society, I was pleased in April to attend the Annual Congress in Bristol of the British Association of Numismatic Societies, though sadly for the organisers, who clearly lacked the prescience of our own Director, they picked what seemed at the time to be the wettest weekend of the year. The following month I was in Dublin as the guest of the International Association of Professional Numismatists, where I spoke on the subject of counterfeiting, evidently causing surprise as a lifelong bachelor by taking my text from Dr Spock's famous book on baby and child care. BANS was rather more fortunate with its autumn weekend, which was spent at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge – fortunate not just with the weather but in the support it received from the College and from the Fitzwilliam Museum, with the participation of Professor Grierson giving special pleasure. Having long been a supporter of BANS I am delighted that it remains in such good heart and I take this opportunity to congratulate our member Joe Bispham on his recent election as President. Also in September I attended the symposium at the Institute of Historical Research on monetary union from ancient Greece to modern Europe, a symposium noteworthy for the stimulating contribution of the British Museum contingent of Andrew Meadows, Gareth Williams and Andrew Burnett. And just a few days ago I was honoured to be the guest speaker at the fortieth birthday celebrations of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Numismatic Society.

But to return to matters closer to home, the Society's year has seen the publication of Robert Thompson's updated edition of the Contents Listing of the *Journal*. The professional expertise of Galata ensured that in its final stages production went as smoothly as could have been wished, and I am pleased to see Paul and Bente Withers in the audience tonight to share the thanks I want to express to Robert Thompson for a job well done. By your response you have shown how eagerly this new edition has been awaited and I can tell you that well over 120 copies have already been sold and our costs have already been covered. A copy will now be given to each new member on election and I harbour the hope that its publication will encourage the sale of back numbers of the *Journal*.

The past month has also been marked by the appearance of the second volume in our Special Publications Series, Dick Doty's account of the Soho Mint. As events transpired, the volume became a three-way co-operation between the Society, the Smithsonian Institution and

Spink's and I confess that at times it seemed a case of two's company three's a crowd, but Douglas Saville picked his way through what could have been an administrative jungle with all that professional care and skill that we have long come to associate with him. The book that has emerged is a handsome volume and, written in the readable style that Dr Doty has made his own, I hope it will do well. We shall need to sell something like 120 or so copies to break even and Douglas Saville tells me that to date he has already received more than thirty-five orders from Society members.

I should like to think, therefore, that it has been a more than ordinarily successful year for the Society and for this I thank Council but also more particularly the Officers, to whom I now turn. Of Tim Webb Ware I have already spoken and I will only add my satisfaction that, at a time when a number of changes have coincided, he has kindly agreed to continue as Treasurer and to provide that guarantee of financial stability that is so important for the future welfare of the Society. Continuity has also been preserved in the person of Tony Holmes, our Librarian, who was able to announce with evident relief at our last meeting that the library has completed its move to new quarters within the Warburg and is again accessible to members. For this he deserves our warm gratitude and I know that he would wish me also to acknowledge the assistance he has received from Michael Anderson.

As for our Editors, with the publication of the next volume of the *Journal* expected at the beginning of the New Year, we may congratulate them on their success in the vital task of keeping the *Journal* on schedule. Edward Besly, with nine *Journals* under his belt, has not unreasonably felt that the time has come to move on and Nick Holmes, currently Production Editor, deservedly steps up to the senior post in place of Edward. For the moment, in view of the firm promise of an ideal candidate next November, there is no replacement for Nick as Production Editor but we do not anticipate any difficulty since Edward, despite the new duties of Director which you have just imposed upon him, has agreed to provide assistance as required.

Speaking of the Director, Thomas Curtis has relinquished the post after five years. I have spoken with some feeling on a previous occasion of how much we owe Thomas for his careful planning of our programme, now with the added burden each year of organising an out-of-town meeting, and tonight I say of him only that I could not have wished, during my Presidency, for a more congenial Director. This same compliment I would pay with equal sincerity to our retiring Secretary, Donal Bateson: quietly efficient, always good-humoured and, despite his onerous duties at the Hunterian Museum, never failing each month to make the long and inconvenient journey from Glasgow. He is replaced by Charles Farthing, who has I am sure the goodwill of us all in ensuring the continued efficient running of the Society.

Nor must I omit to mention the Vice-Presidents, always available as a source of wise advice either privately or at Council, ready to contribute to meetings either as speakers or as chairmen.

But for my final comment, however, I want to return to Derek Allen in 1963. Like him, I look around and find it hard to imagine a happier or better membership and I step down tonight as your President confident that you will give David Dykes the same generous and kind-hearted support that you have always given me, and confident, too, that the Society will continued to prosper as it approaches the auspicious milestone of its centenary.

[The second part of the Presidential Address, a study of the copper coinage of William IV, will appear in the next volume of the *Journal*.]

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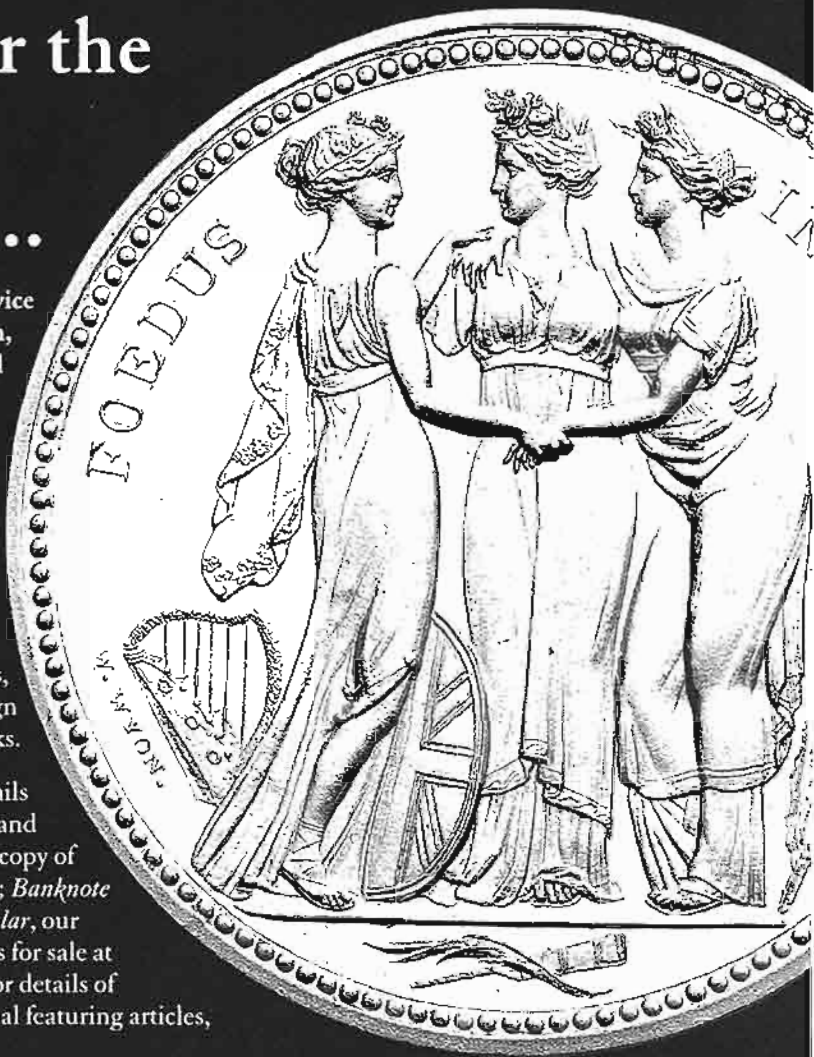
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